



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

NEGritos
OF
ZAMBALLIS

REED

PHILIPPINE
ETHNOLOGICAL
SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

2

UNIVERSITY
OF
MICHIGAN
LIBRARY



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME II

I. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

BY WILLIAM ALLAN REED

II. THE NABALOI DIALECT

BY OTTO SCHEERER

III. THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

BY EDWARD Y. MILLER

MANILA
BUREAU OF PUBLIC PRINTING
1905

143763

*Philippine Islands, Bureau of science.
Division of ethnology.
Division of ethnology publications.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, PART I

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

BY

WILLIAM ALLAN REED

PART I. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

PART II. NABALOI OF BENGUET

PART III. BATAK OF PARAGUA

17095

MANILA
BUREAU OF PUBLIC PRINTING
1904

GN
GTI
PL
A2
v.2

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,

Manila, March 3, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a study of the Negritos of Zambales Province made by Mr. William Allan Reed, of The Ethnological Survey, during the year 1903. It is transmitted with the recommendation that it be published as Part I of Volume II of a series of scientific studies to be published by this Survey.

Respectfully,



Chief of The Ethnological Survey.

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER,
Secretary of the Interior, Manila, P. I.

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,

Manila, March 1, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith my report on the Negritos of Zambales.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM ALLAN REED.

DR. ALBERT ERNEST JENKS,
Chief of The Ethnological Survey, Manila, P. I.

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | 9 |
| CHAPTER I | |
| DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS | 13 |
| Present distribution in the Philippines | 17 |
| In Luzon | 17 |
| In the southern islands | 20 |
| Conclusion | 22 |
| CHAPTER II | |
| THE PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES | 24 |
| Geographical features | 24 |
| Historical sketch | 25 |
| Habitat of the Negritos | 30 |
| CHAPTER III | |
| THE NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES | 33 |
| Physical features | 33 |
| Permanent adornment | 36 |
| Dress | 37 |
| CHAPTER IV | |
| INDUSTRIAL LIFE | 39 |
| Home life | 39 |
| Agriculture | 42 |
| Manufacture and trade | 43 |
| Hunting and fishing | 44 |
| CHAPTER V | |
| AMUSEMENTS | 49 |
| Games | 49 |
| Music | 50 |
| Dancing | 51 |
| Potato dance | 52 |
| Bee dance | 52 |
| Torture dance | 52 |
| Lover's dance | 53 |
| Duel dance | 53 |
| CHAPTER VI | |
| GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE | 55 |
| The child | 55 |
| Marriage | 56 |
| Rice ceremony | 57 |
| Head ceremony | 58 |
| "Leput" or home coming | 59 |

CHAPTER VI—Continued

| GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE—Continued. | Page |
|--------------------------------|------|
| Polygamy and divorce | 60 |
| Burial | 61 |
| Morals | 61 |
| Slavery | 63 |
| Intellectual life | 63 |
| Superstitions | 65 |

CHAPTER VII

| | |
|---|----|
| SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE THE NEGRITOS | 68 |
|---|----|

APPENDIXES

| | |
|---|----|
| APPENDIX A. ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS | 75 |
| B. VOCABULARIES | 79 |
| INDEX | 85 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

| PLATE | | After page |
|---------|---|------------|
| I. | Outline map of the Philippine Islands, showing distribution of Negritos | 18 |
| II. | Outline map of Zambales, showing distribution of Negritos | 30 |
| III. | Negrito women of Bataan on a rock in a stream | 30 |
| IV. | Negrito man from Nangsol, near Subig, Zambales | 30 |
| V. | Negrito man from Aglao, Zambales | 30 |
| VI. | Negrito woman of Zambales | 30 |
| VII. | View near Santa Fé, Zambales | 30 |
| VIII. | Capitán of Villar | 30 |
| IX. | Negrito man of Zambales | 30 |
| X. | Showing relative height of American, mixed blood, and pure Negrito | 30 |
| XI. | Group of Negritos and Constabulary at Cabayan, Zambales | 30 |
| XII. | Old man of Zambales, pure Negrito | 30 |
| XIII. | Old man of Zambales, pure Negrito, showing hair on face and chest | 30 |
| XIV. | Negrito of Zambales, showing hair on the chin and skin disease on the arm | 30 |
| XV. | Pure Negrito of Zambales, showing hair on the chin | 30 |
| XVI. | Negrito man of Zambales, showing hair on the face | 30 |
| XVII. | Negrito girls of Zambales, one with hair clipped behind to eradicate vermin | 30 |
| XVIII. | Negrito man of Zambales, pure blood | 30 |
| XIX. | Negrito man of Zambales, mixed blood | 44 |
| XX. | Negrito man of Zambales, pure blood | 44 |
| XXI. | Negrito man of Zambales, mixed blood | 44 |
| XXII. | Negrito girls of Zambales, pure bloods | 44 |
| XXIII. | Negrito woman of Zambales, mixed blood | 44 |
| XXIV. | Old Negrito woman of Zambales, pure blood | 44 |
| XXV. | Negrito man of Zambales, pure blood | 44 |
| XXVI. | Negrito man of Negros, mixed blood | 44 |
| XXVII. | Negrito man of Zambales | 44 |
| XXVIII. | Negritos (emigrants from Panay) of Maao, Occidental Negros; mixed bloods | 44 |
| XXIX. | Group of Negrito men at Santa Fé, Zambales | 44 |
| XXX. | Principal men of Tagiltit, Zambales; pure Zambal and mixed Negrito | 44 |
| XXXI. | Negritos of Zambales, mixed bloods | 44 |
| XXXII. | Group of people called Aburlin; non-Christian Zambal and Negrito mixed bloods | 44 |
| XXXIII. | Negrito women of Zambales | 44 |
| XXXIV. | Group of Negrito women at Santa Fé, Zambales, showing dress | 44 |
| XXXV. | Negrito girls of Zambales, one wearing necklace of dried berries | 58 |

| | After page |
|--|------------|
| PLATE XXXVI. Combs worn by Negritos of Zambales | 58 |
| XXXVII. Ornaments worn by Negritos of Zambales | 58 |
| XXXVIII. Negrito man, wife, and hut, Bataan | 58 |
| XXXIX. Better class of Negrito hut, Zambales | 58 |
| XL. Negrito man of Bataan making fire with bamboo | 58 |
| XLI. Negrito men of Bataan making fire with bamboo | 58 |
| XLII. Bows and arrows used by Negritos of Zambales | 58 |
| XLIII. Position taken by Negritos of Zambales in shooting | 58 |
| XLIV. Negrito man of Bataan drawing a bow; hog-bristle orna- ments on the legs | 58 |
| XLV. Negrito man of Negros (emigrant from Panay) drawing a bow | 58 |
| XLVI. Musical instruments used by Negritos of Zambales | 58 |
| XLVII. Negritos of Zambales singing the "talbun" | 58 |
| XLVIII. Negritos of Zambales dancing | 58 |
| XLIX. Negrito men of Bataan beating gongs and dancing | 58 |
| L. Negritos of Zambales dancing the "torture dance" | 58 |
| LI. Negrito woman and daughter, Bataan | 72 |
| LII. Pure Negrito woman and mixed blood, with babies, Zamba- les | 72 |
| LIII. Negrito women and children, Zambales | 72 |
| LIV. Negrito children, Santa Fé, Zambales | 72 |
| LV. Capitán of Cabayan, Zambales, with Negrito and Zambal wives | 72 |
| LVI. Boys of Zambales, showing scars made by blistering for fevers, etc. | 72 |
| LVII. Negrito woman of Zambales, pure blood, showing scars made by blistering for fevers, etc. | 72 |
| LVIII. Negrito woman of Zambales, pure blood, showing skin disease | 72 |
| LIX. Negrito man of Zambales, mixed blood, showing skin disease | 72 |
| LX. Negrito boy of Zambales, mixed blood, showing skin disease | 72 |
| LXI. Negrito man of Zambales, mixed blood, showing skin disease | 72 |
| LXII. Capitán-General del Monte, Negrito of Zambales | 72 |
| | Page |
| FIGURE 1. "Belatic," trap used by Negritos | 45 |
| 2. Marks on dice used by Negritos | 49 |

P R E F A C E

This report is based on two months' field work pursued during May and June, 1903. Accompanied by Mr. J. Diamond, a photographer, the writer went in the latter part of April to Iba, Zambales, where a few days were spent in investigating the dialects of the Zambal people and in preparation for a trip to the interior.

After a journey of 25 miles inland a camp was established near Tagilti. During the three weeks we were there the camp was visited by about 700 Negritos, who came in from outlying settlements, often far back in the mountains; but, owing to the fact that most of them would remain only as long as they were fed, extended investigations had to be conducted largely among the residents of Tagilti and the neighboring rancheria of Villar.

From Tagilti a trip was made southward behind the low mountain chain, which marks the limit of the plain, and through a hitherto unexplored territory, very broken and next to impassable except in the dry season. The trail, known only to Negritos and but little used, followed for the most part the beds of mountain streams. Four little rancherias were passed, the people of two of which had already visited us. A hard two-day trip brought us to Santa Fé, a barrio of San Marcelino. After a week with the Negritos at this place a trip was made toward the Pampanga boundary to Cabayan and Aglao, the former locality inhabited by several small groups of Negritos, the latter an isolated Ilokano barrio in and near which the Negritos live. A visit to the rancherias near Subig and Olongapo concluded the investigation. In all, more than a thousand Negritos were seen.

With only a short time at a place it is evident that an exhaustive study of the people of any particular locality could not be made. But the culture plane of the entire area is practically the same, and the facts as here presented should give a good idea of the customs and the general condition of the Negritos of Zambales Province. The short time at my disposal for the investigation is my only excuse for the meager treatment given some lines of study—as, for example, physical anthropology and language.

Inasmuch as nothing has yet been published by The Ethnological Survey on the Negritos of the Philippines, I have thought it not out of place to preface my report with an introductory chapter on their

distribution. The data contained therein have been compiled by me from information gathered by the Survey during the past two years and are sufficiently authentic for the present purpose.

The photographs of the Zambales Negritos were made by Mr. J. Diamond and those of the Bataan Negritos are from the collection of Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior. Credit for each photograph is given on the plate as it appears.

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

CHAPTER I

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS

Probably no group of primitive men has attracted more attention from the civilized world than the pygmy blacks. From the time of Homer and Aristotle the pygmies, although their existence was not absolutely known at that early period, have had their place in fable and legend, and as civilized man has become more and more acquainted with the unknown parts of the globe he has met again and again with the same strange type of the human species until he has been led to conclude that there is practically no part of the tropic zone where these little blacks have not lived at some time.

Mankind at large is interested in a race of dwarfs just as it would be in a race of giants, no matter what the color or social state; and scientists have long been concerned with trying to fix the position of the pygmies in the history of the human race. That they have played an important ethnologic rôle can not be doubted; and although to-day they are so scattered and so modified by surrounding people as largely to have disappeared as a pure type, yet they have everywhere left their imprint on the peoples who have absorbed them.

The Negritos of the Philippines constitute one branch of the Eastern division of the pygmy race as opposed to the African division, it being generally recognized that the blacks of short stature may be so grouped in two large and comprehensive divisions. Other well-known branches of the Eastern group are the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands and perhaps also the Papuans of New Guinea, very similar in many particulars to the Negritos of the Philippines, although authorities differ in grouping the Papuans with the Negritos. The Asiatic continent is also not without its representatives of the black dwarfs, having the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula. The presence of Negritos over so large an area has especially attracted the attention of anthropologists who have taken generally one or the other of two theories advanced to explain it: First, that the entire oceanic region is a partly submerged continent, once connected with the Asiatic mainland and over which this aboriginal race spread prior to the subsidence. The second theory is that the peopling of the several archipelagoes by the Negritos has been a gradual

spread from island to island. This latter theory, advanced by De Quatrefages,¹ is the generally accepted one, although it is somewhat difficult to believe that the ancestors of weak and scattered tribes such as to-day are found in the Philippines could ever have been the sea rovers that such a belief would imply. It is a well-known fact, however, that the Malays have spread in this manner, and, while it is hardly possible that the Negritos have ever been as bold seafarers as the Malays, yet where they have been left in undisputed possession of their shores they have remained reckless fishermen. The statement that they are now nearly always found in impenetrable mountain forests is not an argument against the migration-by-sea theory, because they have been surrounded by stronger races and have been compelled to flee to the forests or suffer extermination. The fact that they live farther inland than the stronger peoples is also evidence that they were the first inhabitants, for it is not natural to suppose that a weaker race could enter territory occupied by a stronger and gain a permanent foothold there.²

¹ Les Pygmées, 1887.

² However, when one attempts to fathom the mysteries surrounding the origin and migrations of the Negrito race he becomes hopelessly involved in a labyrinth of conjecture. Did the Negritos come from somewhere in Asia, some island like New Guinea, or is their original home now sunk beneath the sea? In the present state of our knowledge we can not hope to know. We find them in certain places to-day; we may believe that they once lived in certain other places, because the people now living there have characteristics peculiar to the little black men. But the Negrito has left behind no archaeological remains to guide the investigator, and he who attempts seriously to consider this question is laying up for himself a store of perplexing problems.

It may be of interest to present here the leading facts in connection with the distribution of the Negrito race and to summarize the views set forth by various leading anthropologists who have given the subject most study.

The deduction of the French scientists De Quatrefages and Hamy have been based almost entirely on craniological and osteological observations, and these authors argue a much wider distribution of the Negritos than other writers hold. In fact, according to these writers, traces of Negritos are found practically everywhere from India to Japan and New Guinea.

De Quatrefages in Les Pygmées, 1887, divides what he calls the "Eastern pygmies," as opposed to the African pygmies, into two divisions—the Negrito-Papuans and the Negritos proper. The former, he says, have New Guinea as a center of population and extend as far as Gilolo and the Moluccas. They are distinguished from the true Papuans who inhabit New Guinea and who are not classed by that writer as belonging to the Negrito race.

On the other hand, Wallace and Earl, supported by Meyer, all of whom have made some investigations in the region occupied by the Papuans, affirm that there is but a single race and that its identity with the Negritos is unmistakable. Meyer (Distribution of Negritos, 1898, p. 77) says that he and Von Maclay in 1873 saw a number of Papuans in Tidore. He had just come from the Philippines and Von Maclay had then come from Astrolabe Bay, in New Guinea. With these Papuans before them they discussed the question of the unity of the races, and Von Maclay could see no difference between these Papuans and those of Astrolabe Bay, while Meyer declared that the similarities between them and the Negritos of the Philippines was most striking. He says: "That was my standpoint then regarding the question, neither can I relinquish it at present."

Although they defended the unity of the Negritos and the Papuans they recognized that the Papuans were diversified and presented a variety of types, but Meyer regards this not as pointing to a crossing of different elements but as revealing simply the variability of the race. He continues (p. 80): "As the external *habitus* of the Negritos must be declared as almost identical with that of the Papuans, differences in form of the skull, the size of the body, and such like have the less weight in opposition to the great uniformity, as strong contrasts do not even come into play here, and if the Negritos do not show such great amount of variation in their physical characters as the Papuans—which, however,

The attention of the first Europeans who visited the Philippines was attracted by people with frizzly hair and with a skin darker in color than that of the ruling tribes. Pigafetta, to whom we are indebted for

is by no means sufficiently attested—it is no wonder in the case of a people which has been driven back and deprived of the opportunity of developing itself freely."

Thus it remains for future investigations to establish beyond doubt the identity of the Papuans.

De Quatrefages divides all other Eastern pygmies into two divisions—insular and continental—and no authors find fault with this classification. Only in fixing the distribution of the Negritos do the authorities differ. The islands admitted by everybody to contain Negritos to-day may be eliminated from the discussion. These are the Philippines and the Andamans. In the latter the name "Mincopies" has been given to the little blacks, though how this name originated no one seems to know. It is certain that the people do not apply the name to themselves. Extensive study of the Andamans has been made by Flower and Man.

The Moluccas and lesser Sunda Islands just west of New Guinea were stated by De Quatrefages in 1887 (*Les Pygmées*) to be inhabited by Negritos, although three years previously, as recorded in *Hommes Fossiles*, 1884, he had doubted their existence there. He gave no authority and assigned no reason in his later work for this change of opinion. Meyer thinks this sufficient reason why one should not take De Quatrefages too seriously, and states that proofs of the existence of the Negritos in this locality are "so weak as not to be worth discussing them in detail." From deductions based on the examination of a single skull Hamy inferred that pure Negritos were found on Timor, but the people of Timor were found by Meyer to be mixed Papuans and Malays, resembling the latter on the coasts and the former in the interior.

Likewise in Celebes, Borneo, and Java the French writers think that traces of an ancient Negrito population may be found, while Meyer holds that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant such an assumption. In Sumatra he admits that there is an element not Malayan, which on account of the nearness of Malacca may be *Negritic*, but that fact is so far by no means proved.

In regard to Formosa Meyer quotes Scheteleg (*Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, n. s., 1869, vii): "I am convinced * * * that the Malay origin of most of the inhabitants of Formosa is incontestable." But Hamy holds that the two skulls which Scheteleg brought were Negrito skulls, an assumption which Meyer (*Distribution of Negritos*, 1898, p. 52) disposes of as follows: "To conclude the occurrence of a race in a country from certain characters in two skulls, when this race has not been registered from that country, is, in the present embryonic state of craniology, an unwarrantable proceeding."

In like manner Hamy has found that a certain Japanese skull in the Paris Museum resembles a Negrito skull, and he also finds traces of Negritos in Japan in the small stature, crisp hair, and darker color of the natives of the interior of the Island of Kiusiu. But Meyer holds that the facts brought forward up to the present time are far from being established, and objects to the acceptance of surmises and explanations more or less subjective as conclusive.

There is no doubt of the occurrence of Negritos in the peninsula of Malacca, where both pure and mixed people have been found. These are reported under a variety of names, of which Semang and Sakaf are perhaps the best known. Meyer (*Distribution of Negritos*, p. 62, footnote 2) says: "Stevens divides the Negritos of Malacca into two principal tribes—the Belendas, who with the Tumiors branched off from the Kenis tribe, and the Meniks, who consist of the Panggans of Kelantan and Petani and the Semangs of the west coast. Only the Panggans * * * and the Tumiors are pure Negritos. A name often recurring for the Belendas is Sakeis (Malay: 'bondman,' 'servant'), a designation given them in the first instance by the Malays but which they often also apply to themselves when addressing strangers."

In their efforts to find Negrito traces in the Mao-tse, the aboriginal peoples of the Chinese Empire, De Lacouperie and De Quatrefages have, in the opinion of Meyer, even less to stand on than had Hamy in the case of Japan. In like manner it remains to be proved whether the Moï of Annam are related to Negritos, as the two French writers have stated, but whose opinions have been vigorously opposed by Meyer and others.

The question of the aboriginal inhabitants of India is one of even greater importance and presents greater difficulties. If it can be shown that this aboriginal population was Negrito, and if the relations which researches, especially in philology, have indicated between the peoples of India and those of Australia can be proved, a range of possibilities of startling importance, affecting the race question of Oceania in general and the origin and distribution of the Negritos in particular, will be opened up. In regard to the Indian question there is much diversity of opinion. De Quatrefages and Hamy, as usual, regard

an account of Magellan's voyage of discovery in 1521, mentions Negritos as living in the Island of Panglao, southwest of Bohol and east of Cebu.¹ If we are to believe later historians the shores of some of the islands fairly swarmed with Negritos when the Spaniards arrived. Meyer gives an interesting extract from an old account by Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World* (ed. Bethune, Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 234) :²

In the same yeere 1543, and in moneth of August, the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la torre in a smal ship into new Spaine to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de Mendoça, with all things. They went to the Islands of Siria, Gaonata, Bisaiia and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where Magellan had beene. * * * They found also an Archeipelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: * * * There came vnto them certaine barks or boates handsomely decked, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire * * *: and being demanded where they had these blacke moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine islands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them. * * *

Zúñiga³ quotes the Franciscan history⁴ as follows:

The Negritos which our first conquerors found were, according to tradition, the first possessors of the islands of this Archipelago, and, having been conquered by the political nations of other kingdoms, they fled to the mountains and populated them, whence no one has been able to accomplish their extermination on account of the inaccessibility of the places where they live. In the past they were so proud of their primitive dominion that, although they did not have strength to resist the strangers in the open, in the woods and mountains and mouths of the rivers they were very powerful. They made sudden attacks on the pueblos and compelled their neighbors to pay tribute to them as to lords of the earth which they inhabited, and if these did not wish to pay them they killed right and left, collecting the tribute in heads. * * *

One of the islands of note in this Archipelago is that called Isla de Negros on account of the abundance of them [negroes]. In one point of this island—on the west side, called "Sojoton"—there is a great number of Negritos, and in the center of the island many more.

Chirino has the following to say of the Negritos of Panay at the end of the sixteenth century:⁵

Amongst these (Bisayas) there are also some negroes, the ancient inhabitants of the island of which they had taken possession before the Bisayas. They are

the Negritos as established in India, but Topinard and Virchow are opposed to this belief. Meyer holds that "this part of the Negrito question is in no way ripe for decision, and how much less the question as to a possible relationship of this hypothetical primitive population with the Negroes of Africa." (*Distribution of Negritos*, 1899, p. 70.)

In anthropology a statement may be regarded as proved for the time being so long as no opposition to it exists. With the exception of the Philippine and the Andaman Islands and the Malay Peninsula, as we have seen, the presence of traces of Negritos is an open question. The evidence at hand is incomplete and insufficient, and we must therefore be content to let future investigators work out these unsolved problems.

¹ English edition of Stanley, 1874, p. 106.

² *Distribution of Negritos*, 1899, p. 6, footnote.

³ Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*. Reprint by Retana, vol. 1, p. 422.

⁴ By this is meant Fr. San Antonio's *Chronicas de la Apostolica, Provincia de San Gregorio*, etc., 1738-1744.

⁵ *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604; 2d ed., 1890, p. 38.

somewhat less black and less ugly than those of Guinea, but are smaller and weaker, although as regards hair and beard they are similar. They are more barbarous and savage than the Bisayas and other Filipinos, for they do not, like them, have houses and fixed settlements. They neither sow nor reap, and they wander through the mountains with their women and children like animals, almost naked. * * * Their sole possessions are the bow and arrow.

Meyer,¹ who has given the subject much study and has conducted personal investigations on the field, states that "although at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the country, and probably long before, the Negritos were in process of being driven back by the Malays, yet it appears certain that their numbers were then larger, for they were feared by their neighbors, which is now only exceptionally the case."

Of the vast amount of material that has been written during the past century on the Negritos of the Philippines a considerable portion can not be taken authoritatively. Exceptions should be made of the writings of Meyer, Montano, Marche, and Blumentritt. A large part of the writings on the Philippine Negritos have to do with their distribution and numbers, since no one has made an extended study of them on the spot, except Meyer, whose work (consisting of twelve chapters and published in Volume IX of the Publications of the Royal Ethnographical Museum of Dresden, 1893) I regret not to have seen. Two chapters of this work on the distribution of the Negritos, republished in 1899, form the most recent and most nearly correct exposition of this subject. Meyer summarizes as follows:

It may be regarded as *proved with certainty* that Negritos are found in Luzon, Alabat, ~~Corregidor~~, Panay, Tablas, Negros, Cebu, northeast Mindanao, and Palawan. It is questionable whether they occur in Guimaras, Mindoro, and the Calamianes.

This statement would be more nearly correct if Corregidor and Cebu were placed in the second list and Guimaras in the first. In this paper it is possible, by reason of special investigations, to give more reliable and detailed information on this subject than any yet published.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES²

IN LUZON

This paper concerns itself chiefly with the Zambales Negritos whose distribution in Zambales and the contiguous Provinces of Bataan, Pampanga, and Tarlac is treated in detail in the following chapter. But Negritos of more or less pure blood, known variously as Aeta, Agta, Baluga, Dumagat, etc., are found in at least eleven other provinces of Luzon. Beginning with the southern end of the island there are a very few Negritos in the Province of Sorsogon. They are found generally living among the Bicol population and do not run wild in the woods; they have probably drifted down from the neighboring Province of

¹ Meyer, Distribution of Negritos, 1899, p. 4.
17095—2

² See sketch map, Pl. I.

Albay. According to a report submitted by the governor of Sorsogon there are a few of these Negritos in Bacon and Bulusan, and four families containing Negrito blood are on the Island of Batang near Gabat.

Eight pueblos of Albay report altogether as many as 800 Negritos, known locally as "Agta." It is not likely any of them are of pure blood. In all except three of the towns they are servants in Bicol houses, but Malinao, Bacacay, and Tabaco report wandering groups in the mountains.

Meyer, who makes no mention of Negritos in Sorsogon or Albay, deems their existence in the Camarines sufficiently well authenticated, according to Blumentritt, who places Negrito half-breeds in the neighborhood of Lagonoy and around Mount Isarog. Information received by The Ethnological Survey places them in the mountains near Baao, Bulic, Iriga, Lagonoy, San José, Gao, and Tigaon, as well as scattered over the Cordillera de Isarog around Sagnay. All of these places are in the extreme southeastern part of the province contiguous to that part of Albay inhabited by Negritos. In neither province is the type pure. In the northern part of the province a few Negritos, called "Dumagat," are reported near Sipocot and Ragay. The towns of San Vicente, Labo, Paracale, Mambulao, and Capalonga along the north coast also have Negritos, generally called "Aeta." These are probably of purer blood than those around Mount Isarog. More than a hundred families of "Dumagat" are reported on the Islands of Caringo, Caluat, and Jomalic.

Farther to the north the Island of Alabat was first stated by Blumentritt to be inhabited by Dumagat, and in his map of 1882 he places them here but omits them in the map of 1890. Meyer deems their occurrence there to be beyond all doubt, as per Steen Bille's reports (*Reise der Galathea*, German ed., 1852). Reports of The Ethnological Survey place Aeta, Baluga, and Dumagat on Alabat—the former running wild in the mountains, the latter living in the barrios of Camagon and Silangan, respectively. On the mainland of the Province of Tayabas the Negritos are generally known as Aeta and may be regarded as being to a large degree of pure blood. They are scattered pretty well over the northern part of the province, but do not, so far as is known, extend down into the peninsula below Pitogo and Macalelon. Only at Mauban are they known as Baluga, which name seems to indicate a mixed breed. The Island of Polillo and the districts of Infanta and Principe, now part of the Province of Tayabas, have large numbers of Negritos probably more nearly approaching a pure physical type than those south of them. The Negritos of Binangonan and Baler have received attention in short papers from Blumentritt, but it yet remains for someone to make a study of them on the spot.

Meyer noted in 1872 that Negritos frequently came from the moun-

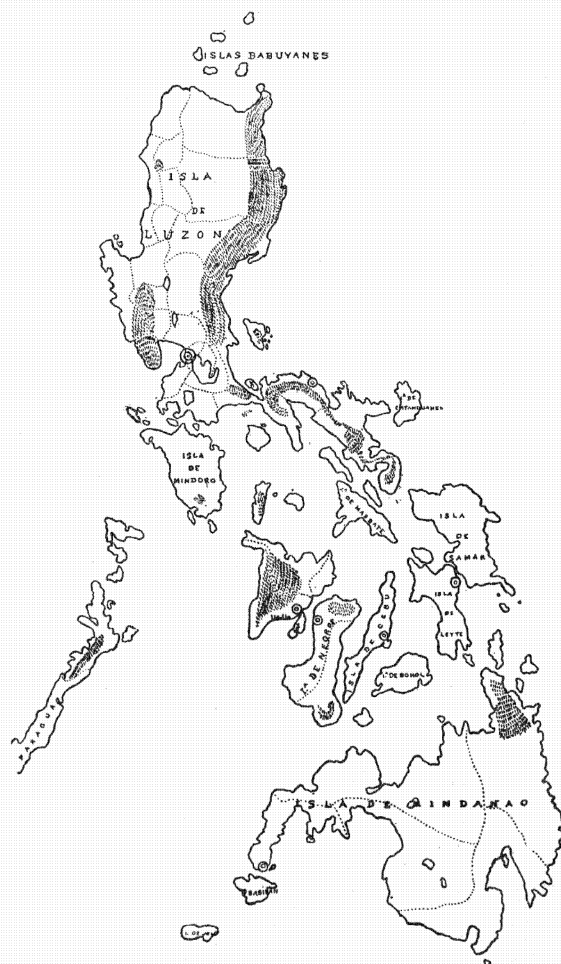


PLATE I. OUTLINE MAP OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS

tains to Santa Cruz, Laguna Province. These probably came from across the Tayabas line, as none are reported in Laguna except from Santa Maria, in the extreme northern part. Even these are probably very near the boundary line into Rizal Province; perhaps they are over the line. Tanay, Rizal Province, on the shore of Laguna de Bay, reports some 300 Negritos as living in the mountains north of that town. From descriptions given by natives of Tanay they do not appear to be pure types. There is also a small group near Montalbán, in Rizal Province, not more than 20 miles from Manila.

Going northward into Bulacan we are in possession of more definite information regarding the whereabouts of these forest dwellers. Zuñiga in 1803 spoke of the Negritos of Angat—in those days head-hunters who were accustomed to send messages by means of knotted grass stalks.¹

This region, the upper reaches of the Angat River, was visited by Mr. E. J. Simons on a collecting trip for The Ethnological Survey in February, 1903. Mr. Simons saw twenty-two little rancherias of the Dumagat, having a total population of 176 people. Some of them had striking Negroid characteristics, but nearly all bore evidence of a mixture of blood. In some cases full-blooded Filipinos have married into the tribe and adopted Negrito customs entirely. Their social state is about the same as that of the Negritos of Zambales, though some of their habits—for instance, betel chewing—approach more nearly those of lower-class Filipinos. A short vocabulary of their dialect is given in Appendix B.

Negritos are also found in northern Bulacan and throughout the continuous mountain region extending through Nueva Ecija into Isabela and the old Province of Principe. They are reported from Peñaranda, Bongabong, and Pantabangan, in Nueva Ecija, to the number of 500. This region is yet to be fully explored; the same may be said also of that vast range of mountains, the Sierra Madre, of Isabela and Cagayan. In the Province of Isabela Negritos are reported from all the towns, especially Palanan, on the coast, and Carig, Echague, Angadanan, Cauayan, and Cabagan Nuevo, on the upper reaches of the Rio Grande de Cagayan, but as there is a vast unknown country between, future exploration will have to determine the numerical importance of the Negritos. It has been thought heretofore that this region contained a large number of people of pure blood. This was the opinion set forth by Blumentritt. He says:

This coast is the only spot in the Philippines in which the original masters of the Archipelago, the Negritos, hold unrestricted possession of their native land. The eastern side of the Cordillera which slopes toward this coast is also their undisputed possession. However, the western slopes they have been compelled to share with branches of Malay descendants. Here they retain the greatest purity of original physique and character.

¹ Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas. Ed. Retana, 1893, I, p. 421.

These statements stand much in need of verification. Inquiries pursued by The Ethnological Survey do not bear them out—in fact, point to an opposite belief.

There is a small body of what may be pure types near the boundary between Isabela and Cagayan, west of the Cagayan River, but the coast region, so far as is known, does not hold any Negritos.

As many as sixteen towns of Cagayan report Negritos to the total number of about 2,500. They are known commonly as "Atta," but in the pueblo of Baggao there are three groups known locally as "Atta," "Dian-go," and "Paranan." They have been described by natives of Baggao as being very similar to the ordinary Filipinos in physical characteristics except that they are darker in color and have bushy hair. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow. Their social status is in every way like that of the Negritos as distinguished from the industrious mountain Malaysians of northern Luzon. Yet future investigations may not associate these robust and warlike tribes with the weak, shirking Negritos. Negritos of pure type have not so far been reported from Cagayan.

At only two places in the western half of northern Luzon have Negritos been observed. There is a small group near Piddig, Ilokos Norte, and a wandering band of about thirty-five in the mountains between Villavieja, Abra Province, and Santa Maria, Ilokos Sur Province, from both of which towns they have been reported. It is but a question of time until no trace of them will be left in this region so thickly populated with stronger mountain peoples.

IN THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS

Although Negritos were reported by the early Spanish writers to be especially numerous in some of the southern islands, probably more of them are found on Luzon than on all the other islands in the Archipelago. Besides Luzon, the only large islands inhabited by them at present are Panay, Negros, Mindanao, and Paragua, but some of the smaller islands, as Tablas and Guimaras, have them.

Negritos of pure blood have not been reported from Mindoro, but only the half-breed Manguian, who belong in a group to themselves. It is questionable whether the unknown interior will produce pure types, though it is frequently reported that there are Negritos in the interior.

There is a rather large colony of Negritos on the west coast of Tablas near Odiungan, and also a few on the Isla de Carabao immediately south of Tablas. These have probably passed up from Panay. All the provinces of the latter island report Negritos, locally known as "Ati" and "Agta." They seem to be scattered pretty well over the interior of Panay, being especially numerous in the mountainous region where the Provinces of Antique and Iloilo join. In Antique there

are about 1,000 Negritos living in groups of several families each. They are reported from nearly all the towns, being more numerous along the Dalanas and Sibalon Rivers. The number of pure types is said, however, to be rapidly decreasing on account of intermarriage with the Bukidnon or mountain Visayan. They are of very small stature, with kinky hair. They lead the same nomadic life as the Negritos in other parts, except that they depend more on the products of the forest for subsistence and rarely clear and cultivate "ca-ing-in."¹ They seem to have developed more of religious superstitions, and believe that both evil spirits and protecting spirits inhabit the forests and plains. However, these beliefs may have been borrowed from the Bukidnon, with whom they come much in contact. From a mixing of the Ati and Bukidnon are sprung the Calibugan, who partake more of the characteristics of their Visayan ancestors than those of the Ati, and generally abandon the nomadic life and live in clearings in the forest.

About ten years ago there was a group of about 200 Ati at a place called Labangan, on the Dalanas River, governed by one Capitán Andres. They made clearings and carried people across the river for a small remuneration. Many of them are said to have emigrated to Negros to escape public work to which the local authorities subjected them without compensation.

There is a small, wandering group of Negritos on Guimaras, probably emigrants from Panay. They have been reported from both Nagaba and Nueva Valencia, pueblos of that island.

Investigation does not bear out the statements of the historian previously quoted in regard to the early populations of Negros. At least it seems that if the southwestern part of that island known as Sojoton had been so thickly populated with Negritos early in the eighteenth century more traces of them would remain to-day. But they seem to have left no marks on the Malayan population. While in the Isio region in August, 1903, I made special investigation and inquiry into this subject and could find no trace of Negritos. Expeditions of the Constabulary into the interior have never met with the little blacks except a single colony near the boundary line between the two provinces just north of Tolon. A few Negritos have also been seen scattered in the interior of southern Oriental Negros back from Nueva Valencia, Ayutan, and Bais. From there no trace of them exists until the rugged mountains north of the volcano of Canlaon are reached, in the almost impenetrable recesses of which there are estimated to be a thousand or more. They are especially numerous back of Escalante and formerly made frequent visits to that pueblo, but recent military operations in the region have made them timid, as scouting parties have fired on and killed several of them. The sight of a white man or native of the

¹ Ca-ing-in is a Malayan word for cultivated clearing.

plain is a signal for an immediate discharge of arrows. Also in the mountains behind Sagay, Cadiz, and Manapla live a few scattered families. I was fortunate in securing photographs of a Negrito captured by the Constabulary near Cadiz. (See Pl. XXVI.) He was much taller than the Negritos of Zambales, but with very little muscular development. He spoke Visayan, and said he knew no other dialect. While in Negros I also secured photographs of a small colony of Ati, who emigrated from Panay about twenty years ago and now live on a mountain hacienda on the slope of Mount Canlaon.

So far there is no evidence that Negritos exist on Cebu, Bohol, Samar, and Leyte. In Mindanao they are found only in the extreme northern part of Surigao, not having been reported below Tago. They are called "Mamanua," and are not very numerous.

We have detailed accounts of both the Tagbanua and Batak of Paragua, by Señor Manuel Venturello, a native of Puerto Princesa, who has lived among them twenty years. These interesting articles, translated by Capt. E. A. Helmick, Tenth United States Infantry, and published in pamphlet form by the Division of Military Information, Manila, are especially full as to customs, religion, language, etc., of the Tagbanua who inhabit the central part of Paragua from the Bay of Ulugan south to Apurahuan. However, the Tagbanua, although perhaps having a slight amount of Negrito blood, can not be classed with the Negritos. But, in my opinion, the Batak who inhabit the territory from the Bay of Ulugan north to Caruray and Barbacan may be so classed, although they are by no means of pure blood. They are described as being generally of small stature but well developed and muscular. They have very curly but not kinky hair, except in rare cases. Their weapons are the bow and arrow and the blowgun or sumpitan, here called "sum-pit." Their only clothing is a breechcloth and a short skirt of flayed bark. A notable feature of their customs is that both polygyny and polyandry are permitted, this being the only instance of the latter practice so far observed among the tribes of the Philippines. The Batak are not very numerous; their villages have been decimated by ravages of smallpox during the past five years.

CONCLUSION

This rapid survey leaves much to be desired, but it contains about all that is definitely known to-day concerning the whereabouts of the Negritos in the Philippines. No attempt has been made to state numbers. The Philippine census will probably have more exact information in this particular, but it must be borne in mind that even the figures given by the census can be no more than estimates in most instances. The habits of the Negritos do not lend themselves to modern methods of census taking.

After all, Blumentritt's opinion of several years ago is not far from right. Including all mixed breeds having a preponderance of Negrito blood, it is safe to say that the Negrito population of the Philippines probably will not exceed 25,000. Of these the group largest in numbers and probably purest in type is that in the Zambales mountain range, western Luzon. However, while individuals may retain in some cases purity of blood, nowhere are whole groups free from mixture with the Malayan. The Negritos of Panay, Negros, and Mindanao are also to be regarded as pure to a large extent. On the east side of Luzon and in the Island of Paragua, as we have just seen, there is marked evidence of mixture.

The social state of the Negritos is everywhere practically the same. They maintain their half-starved lives by the fruits of the chase and forest products, and at best cultivate only small patches of maize and other vegetables. Only occasionally do they live in settled, self-supporting communities, but wander for the most part in scattered families from one place to another.

CHAPTER II

THE PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

This little-known and comparatively unimportant province stretches along the western coast of Luzon for more than 120 miles. Its average width does not exceed 25 miles and is so out of proportion to its length that it merits the title which it bears of the "shoestring province."¹ The Zambales range of mountains, of which the southern half is known as the Cordillera de Cabusilan and which is second in importance to the Caraballos system of northern Luzon, forms the entire eastern boundary of Zambales and separates it from the Provinces of Pangasinan, Tarlac, and Pampanga. A number of peaks rise along this chain, of which Mount Pinatubo, 6,040 feet in height, is the highest. All of the rivers of Zambales rise on the western slope of these mountains and carry turbulent floods through the narrow plains. Still unbridged, they are an important factor in preventing communication and traffic between towns, and hence in retarding the development of the province. Another important factor in this connection is the lack of safe anchorages. The Zambales coast is a stormy one, and vessels frequently come to grief on its reefs. At only one point, Subig Bay, can larger vessels find anchorage safe from the typhoons which sweep the coast. The soil of the well-watered plain is fertile and seems adapted to the cultivation of nearly all the products of the Archipelago. The forests are especially valuable, and besides fine timbers for constructional purposes they supply large quantities of pitch, resin, bejuco, and beeswax. There are no industries worth mentioning, there being only primitive agriculture and stock raising.

The following opinions of Zambales set forth by a Spanish writer in 1880 still hold good:²

There are more populous and more civilized provinces whose commercial and agricultural progress has been more pronounced, but nowhere is the air more pure

¹ The province has recently been divided by act of the Philippine Commission, the northern part above Santa Cruz being joined to Pangasinan.

² Francisco Cañamaque, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, vol ix, 1880.

and transparent, the vegetation more luxuriant, the climate more agreeable, the coasts more sunny, and the inhabitants more simple and pacific.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

According to Buzeta, another Spanish historian, it was Juan de Salcedo who discovered Zambales.¹

This intrepid soldier [he says], after having conquered Manila and the surrounding provinces, resolved to explore the northern part of Luzon. He organized at his own expense an expedition, and General Legaspi gave him forty-five soldiers, with whom he left Manila May 20, 1572. After a journey of three days he arrived at Bolinao, where he found a Chinese vessel whose crew had made captives of a chief and several other natives. Salcedo retook these captives from the Chinese and gave them their liberty. The Indians, who were not accustomed to such generosity, were so touched by this act that they became voluntary vassals of the Spaniards.

It seems that nothing further was done toward settling or evangelizing the region for twelve years, although the chronicler goes on to say that three years after the discovery of Bolinao a sergeant of Salcedo's traversed the Bolinao region, receiving everywhere the homage of the natives, and a Franciscan missionary, Sebastian Baeza, preached the gospel there. But in 1584 the Augustinians established themselves at the extreme ends of the mountain range, Bolinao and Mariveles. One of them, the friar Esteban Martin, was the first to learn the Zambal dialect. The Augustinians were succeeded by the Recollets, who, during the period from 1607 to 1680, founded missions at Agno, Balinaguin, Bolinao, Cabangan, Iba, Masinloc, and Santa Cruz. Then in 1680, more than a hundred years after Salcedo landed at Bolinao, the Dominicans undertook the active evangelization of the district.

Let us now examine [continues the historian²] the state of these savage Indians whom the zealous Spanish missionaries sought to convert. Father Salazar, after having described the topography of this mountainous province, sought to give an idea of the political and social state of the pagans who formed the larger part of the aboriginal population: "The principal cause," he said, "of the barbarity of these Indians, and that which prevents their ever being entirely and peacefully converted, is that the distances are so great and communication so difficult that the alcaldes can not control them and the missionaries find it impossible to exercise any influence over them."

Each village was composed of ten, twenty, or thirty families, united nearly always by ties of kinship. It was difficult to bring these villages together because they carried on wars continually, and they lived in such a state of discord that it was impossible to govern them; moreover they were so barbarous and fierce that they recognized only superior power. They governed through fear. He who wished to be most respected sought to inspire fear by striking off as many heads as possible. The one who committed the most assassinations was thus assured of the subordination of all. They made such a glory of it that they were accustomed to wear certain ornaments in order to show to the eyes

¹ Diccionario Geográfico, etc., de las Islas Filipinas, vol. II, 1850. ² Cañamaque.

or all the murders they had committed. When a person lost a relative either by a violent or a natural death he covered his head with a strip of black cloth as a sign of mourning and could take it off only after having committed a murder, a thing which they were always eager to do in order to get rid of the sadness of mourning, because so long as they wore the badge they could not sing or dance or take part in any festivity. One understands then that deaths became very frequent in a country where all deaths were necessarily followed by one or more murders. It is true that he who committed a murder sought to atone for it by paying to the relatives of the deceased a certain quantity of gold or silver or by giving them a slave or a Negrito who might be murdered in his place.

The Zambal had nevertheless more religion than the inhabitants of other provinces. There was among them a high priest, called "Bayoc," who by certain rites consecrated the other priests. He celebrated this ceremony in the midst of orgies and the most frightful revels. He next indicated to the new priest the idol or cult to which he should specially devote himself and conferred on him privileges proportionate to the rank of that divinity, for they recognized among their gods a hierarchy, which established also that of their curates. They gave to their principal idol the name of "Malyari"—that is, the powerful. The Bayoc alone could offer sacrifice to him. There was another idol, Acasi, whose power almost equaled that of the first. In fact, they sang in religious ceremonies that "although Malyari was powerful, Acasi had preëminence." In an inferior order they worshiped also Manlobog or Mangalagan, whom they recognized as having power of appeasing irritated spirits. They rendered equal worship to five less important idols who represented the divinities of the fields, prosperity to their herds and harvests. They also believed that Anitong sent them rains and favorable winds; Damalag preserved the sown fields from hurricanes; Dumanga made the grain grow abundantly; and finally Calascas ripened it, leaving to Calosocos only the duty of harvesting the crops. They also had a kind of baptism administered by the Bayoc with pure blood of the pig, but this ceremony, very long and especially very expensive, was seldom celebrated in grand style. The sacrifice which the same priest offered to the idol Malyari consisted of ridiculous ceremonies accompanied by savage cries and yells and was terminated by repugnant debaucheries.

Of course it is impossible to tell how much of this is the product of the writer's imagination, or at least of the imagination of those earlier chroniclers from whom he got his information, but it can very well be believed that the natives had a religion of their own and that the work of the missionaries was exceedingly difficult. It was necessary to get them into villages, to show them how to prepare and till the soil and harvest the crops. And the writer concludes that "little by little the apathetic and indolent natives began to recognize the advantages of social life constituted under the shield of authority and law, and the deplorable effects of savage life, offering no guarantee of individual or collective security."

A fortress had been built at Paynaven, in what is now the Province of Pangasinan, from which the work of the missionaries spread southward, so that the northern towns were all organized before those in the south. It is not likely that this had anything to do with causing

the Negritos to leave the northern part of the province, if indeed they ever occupied it, but it is true that to-day they inhabit only the mountainous region south of a line drawn through the middle of the province from east to west.

The friar Martinez Zúñiga, speaking of the fortress at Paynaven, said that in that day, the beginning of the last century, there was little need of it as a protection against the "infidel Indians" and blacks who were very few in number, and against whom a stockade of bamboo was sufficient.

It might serve against the Moros [he continues], but happily the Zambales coast is but little exposed to the attacks of these pirates, who always seek easy anchorage. The pirates are, however, a constant menace and source of danger to the Zambal, who try to transport on rafts the precious woods of their mountains and to carry on commerce with Manila in their little boats. The Zambal are exposed to attack from the Moros in rounding the point at the entrance of Manila Bay, from which it results that the province is poor and has little commerce.¹

Everything in the history of the Zambal people and their present comparative unimportance goes to show that they were the most indolent and backward of the Malayan peoples. While they have never given the governing powers much trouble, yet they have not kept pace with the agricultural and commercial progress of the other people, and their territory has been so steadily encroached on from all sides by their more aggressive neighbors that their separate identity is seriously threatened. The rich valleys of Zambales have long attracted Ilokano immigrants, who have founded several important towns. The Zambal themselves, owing to lack of communication between their towns, have developed three separate dialects, none of which has ever been deemed worthy of study and publication, as have the other native dialects of the Philippines. A glance at the list of towns of Zambales with the prevailing dialect spoken in each, and in case of nearly equal division also the second most important dialect, will show to what extent Zambal as a distinct dialect is gradually disappearing:

¹ Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, 1803.

Dialects in Zambales Province

| Town | Primary dialect | Secondary dialect |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Olongapo..... | Tagalog | Ilokano Tagalog |
| Subig..... | Tagalog | |
| Castillejos..... | Tagalog | |
| San Marcelino..... | Ilokano | |
| San Antonio..... | Ilokano | |
| San Narciso..... | Ilokano | |
| San Felipe..... | Ilokano | |
| Cabangan..... | Zambal | |
| Botolan..... | Zambal | |
| Iba..... | Zambal | |
| Palauig..... | Zambal | Zambal Pangasinan |
| Masinloc..... | Zambal | |
| Candelaria..... | Zambal | |
| Santa Cruz..... | Zambal | |
| Infanta..... | Zambal | |
| Dasol..... | Pangasinan | |
| Agno..... | Ilokano | |
| Barri..... | Zambal | |
| San Isidro..... | Ilokano | |
| Balincaguin..... | Pangasinan | |
| Alos..... | Ilokano | Pangasinan |
| Alumnos..... | Pangasinan | Ilokano |
| Zaragoza..... | Zambal | |
| Bolinao..... | Zambal | |
| Anda..... | Zambal | |

Of twenty-five towns Zambal is the prevailing dialect of less than half. As will be seen, the Ilokano have been the most aggressive immigrants. As a prominent Ilokano in the town of San Marcelino expressed it, when they first came they worked for the Zambals, who held all the good land. But the Zambal landowners, perhaps wanting money for a cockfight, would sell a small piece of land to some Ilokano who had saved a little money, and when he ran out of money he would sell a little more land, until finally the Ilokano owned it all.

This somewhat lengthy and seemingly irrelevant sketch of the early history of Zambales and of the character of its inhabitants to-day is given to show the former state of savagery and the apathetic nature of the people who, in the days before the arrival of the Europeans, were in such close contact with the Negritos as to impose on them their language, and they have done it so thoroughly that no trace of an original Negrito dialect remains. Relations such as to-day exist between the people of the plains and those of the mountains would not change a dialect in a thousand years. Another evidence of a former close contact may be found in the fact that the Negritos of southern Zambales who have never personally come in contact with the Zambal but only with the Tagalog also speak Zambal with some slight variations,

showing, too, that the movement of the Negritos has been southward away from the Zambal territory.

Close study and special investigation into the linguistics of this region, carried also into Bataan and across the mountain into Pampanga and Tarlac, may throw more light on this very interesting and important subject and may reveal traces of an original Negrito dialect. Prominent natives of Zambales, whom I have questioned, and who are familiar with the subject, affirm that the Negritos know only the dialect of the Zambal. Indeed those are not lacking who believe in a blood relationship between the Negritos and the Zambal, but this belief can not be taken seriously.¹

Very little mention is made by the early writers of the Negritos. In fact they knew nothing of them except that they were small blacks who roamed in the mountains, living on roots and game which they killed with the bow and arrow. They were reported to be fierce little savages from whom no danger could come, since they did not leave their mountain fastnesses, but whose territory none dared enter.

¹ This was evidently the belief of some of the old voyagers. Navarette, whose account of his travels in 1647 is published in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, 1704, said that the people called "Zambales" were great archers and had no other weapons than the bow and arrow. Dr. John Frances Gemelli Careri, who made a voyage around the world, 1693-1697, says in his report (Churchill's Voyages, vol. iv): "This mixing [that is, of Negritos] with the Wild *Indians* produced the Tribe of *Manghian* who are Blacks dwelling in the Isles of Mindoro and Mundos [probably Panay], and who peopled the Islands *de los Negros*, or of Blacks. Some of them have harsh frised hair like the *African* and *Angola* blacks. * * *

"The *Sambali*, contrary to the others, tho' Wild have long Hair, like the other Conquer'd *Indians*. The Wives, of these Savages are deliver'd in the Woods, like She Goats, and immediately wash themselves and the Infants in the Rivers, or other cold Water; which would be immediate Death to *Europeans*. These Blacks when pursu'd by the *Spaniards*, with the sound of little Sticks, give notice to the rest, that are dispers'd about the Woods, to save themselves by Flight. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, a short Spear, and a short Weapon, or Knife at their Girdle. They Poison their Arrows, which are sometimes headed with Iron, or a sharp Stone, and they bore the Point, that it may break in their Enemies Body, and so be unfit to be shot back. For their defense, they use a Wooden Buckler, four Spans long, and two in breadth, which always hangs at their Arm.

"Tho' I had much discourse about it, with the Fathers of the Society, and other Missioners, who converse with these Blacks, *Manghians*, *Mandi* and *Sambali*, I could never learn any thing of their Religion; but on the contrary, all unanimously agree they have none, but live like Beasts, and the most that has been seen among the Blacks on the Mountains, has been a round Stone, to which they pay'd a Veneration, or a Trunk of a Tree, or Beasts, or other things they find about, and this only out of fear. True it is, that by means of the Heathen *Chinenses* who deal with them in the Mountains, some deformed Statues have been found in their Huts. The other three beforemention'd Nations, seem'd inclin'd to observing of Auguries and *Mahometan* Superstitions, by reason of their Commerce, with the *Malayes* and *Ternates*. The most reciev'd Opinion is, that these Blacks were the first Inhabitants of the Islands; and that being Cowards, the Sea Coasts were easily taken from them by People resorting from *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Macassar* and other Places; and therefore they retir'd to the Mountains. In short, in all the Islands where these Blacks, and other Savage Men are, the *Spaniards* Possess not much beyond the Sea Coasts; and not that in all Parts, especially from *Maribetes*, to Cape *Bolinao* in the Island of *Manila*, where for 50 Leagues along the Shoar, there is no Landing, for fear of the Blacks, who are most inveterate Enemies to the *Europeans*. Thus all the in-land Parts being possess'd by these Brutes, against whom no Army could prevail in the thick Woods, the King of *Spain* has scarce one in ten of the Inhabitants of the Island, that owns him, as the *Spaniards* often told me."

HABITAT OF THE NEGRITOS

As has been stated, the present range of the Negritos of this territory embraces the mountainous portion of the lower half of Zambales and the contiguous Provinces of Tarlac and Pampanga, extending southward even to the very extremity of the peninsula of Bataan.

This region, although exceedingly broken and rough, has not the high-ridged, deep-canyoned aspect of the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon. It consists for the most part of rolling tablelands, broken by low, forest-covered ridges and dotted here and there by a few gigantic peaks. The largest and highest of these, Mount Pinatubo, situated due east from the town of Cabangan, holds on its broad slopes the largest part of the Negritos of Zambales. Many tiny streams have their sources in this mountain and rush down the slopes, growing in volume and furnishing water supply to the Negrito villages situated along their banks. Some of the larger of these streams have made deep cuts on the lower reaches of the mountain slopes, but they are generally too small to have great powers of erosion. The unwooded portions of the table-lands are covered with cogon and similar wild grasses.

Here is enough fertile land to support thousands of people. The Negritos occupy practically none of it. Their villages and mountain farms are very scattered. The villages are built for the most part on the table-land above some stream, and the little clearings are found on the slope of the ridge at the base of which the stream runs. No use whatever is made of the grass-covered table-land, save that it offers a high and dry site for a rancheria, free from fevers.

Practically all of the Negrito rancherias are within the jurisdiction of the two towns of Botolan and San Marcelino. Following the winding course of the Bucao River, 15 miles southeast from Botolan, one comes to the barrio of San Fernando de Riviera, as it is on the maps, or Pombato, as the natives call it. This is a small Filipino village, the farthest out, a half-way place between the people of the plains and those of the uplands. Here a ravine is crossed, a hill climbed, and the traveler stands on a plateau not more than half a mile wide but winding for miles toward the big peak Pinatubo and almost imperceptibly increasing in elevation. Low, barren ridges flank it on either side, at the base of each of which flows a good-sized stream. Seven miles of beaten winding path through the cogon grass bring the traveler to the first Negrito rancheria, Tagilti, one year old, lying sun baked on a southern slope of the plateau. Here the plateau widens out, is crossed and cut up by streams and hills, and the forests gradually become thicker. In the wide reach of territory of which this narrow plateau is the western apex, including Mount Pinatubo and reaching to the Tarlac and Pampanga boundaries, there are situated no less than thirty rancherias of Negritos, having an average population of 40 persons or a

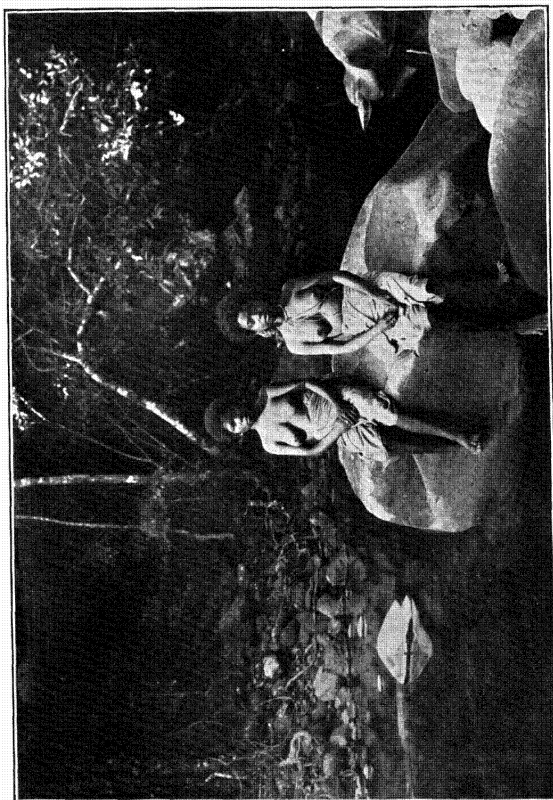


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE III. NEGRO WOMEN OF BATIAN ON A ROCK IN A STREAM.

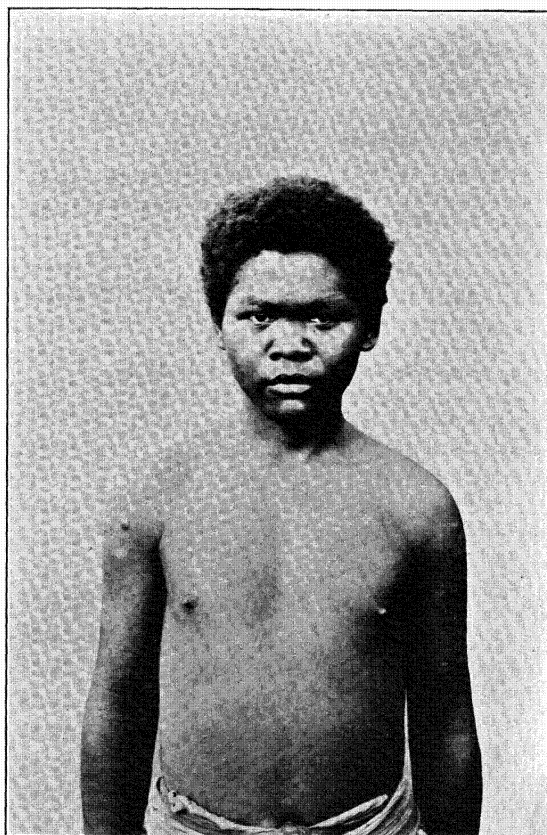


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE IV. NEGRITO MAN FROM NANGSOL, NEAR SUBIG, ZAMBALES.

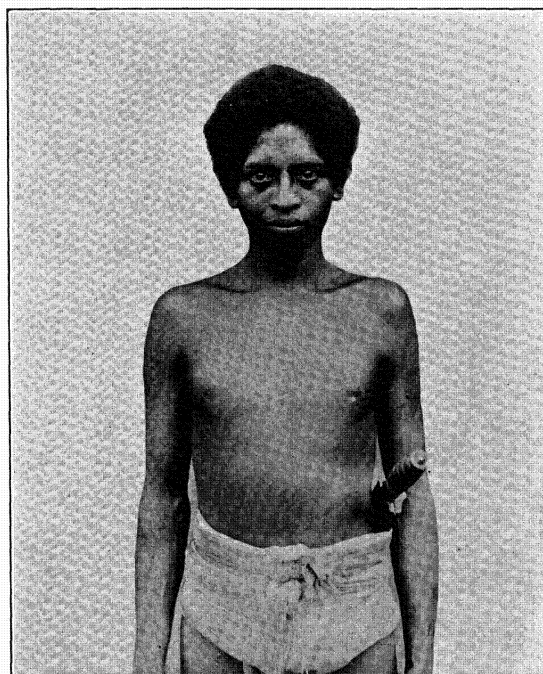


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE V. NEGRITO MAN FROM AGLAO, ZAMBALES.

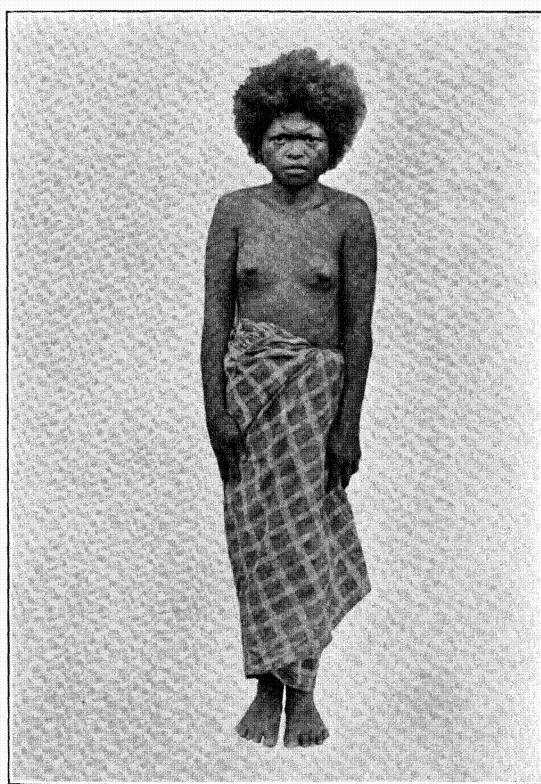


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE VI. NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES.

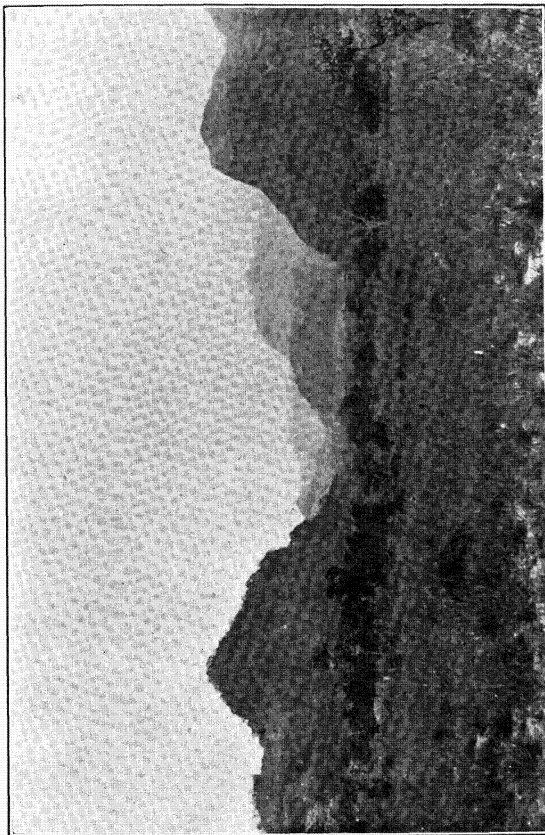


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE VII. VIEW NEAR SANTA FÉ, ZAMBALES.



Photo by Diamond.

PLATE VIII. CAPITÁN OF VILLAR.

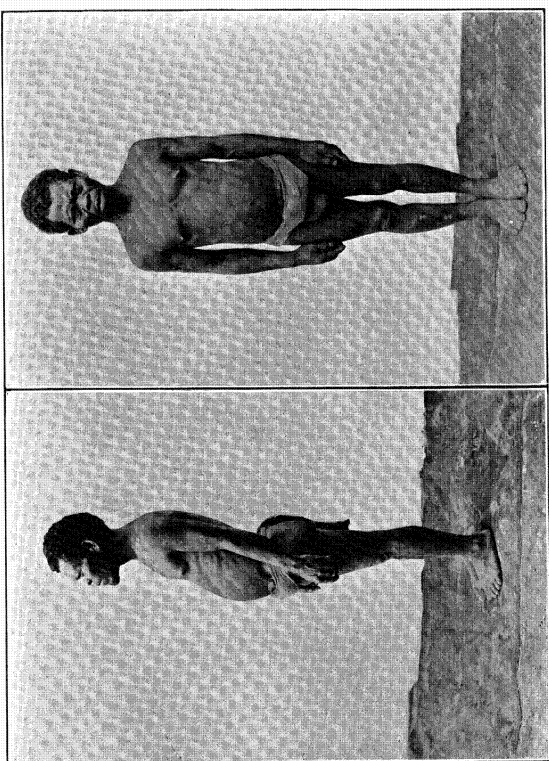


PLATE IX. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBIALES.

Photos by Diamond.



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE X. SHOWING RELATIVE HEIGHT OF AMERICAN, MIXED BLOOD, AND PURE NEGRITO.

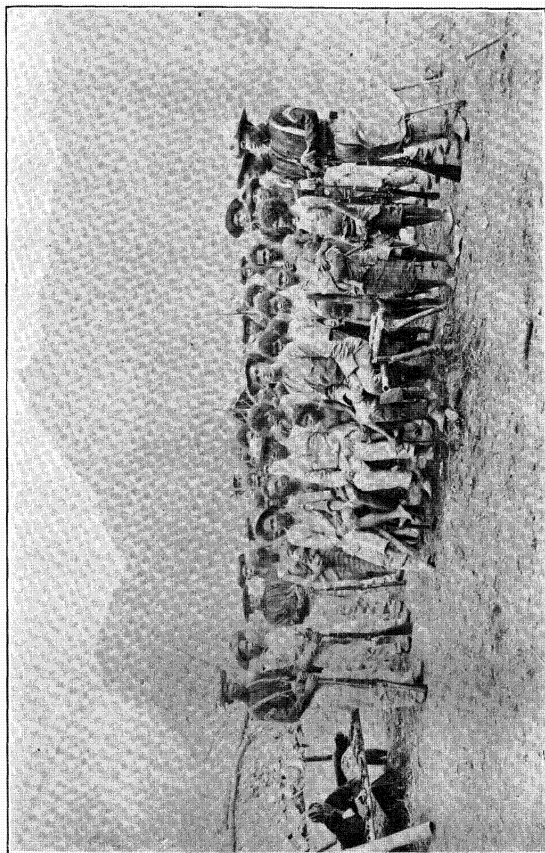


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XI. GROUP OF NEGritos AND CONSTABULARY AT CABAYAN, ZAMBALES.

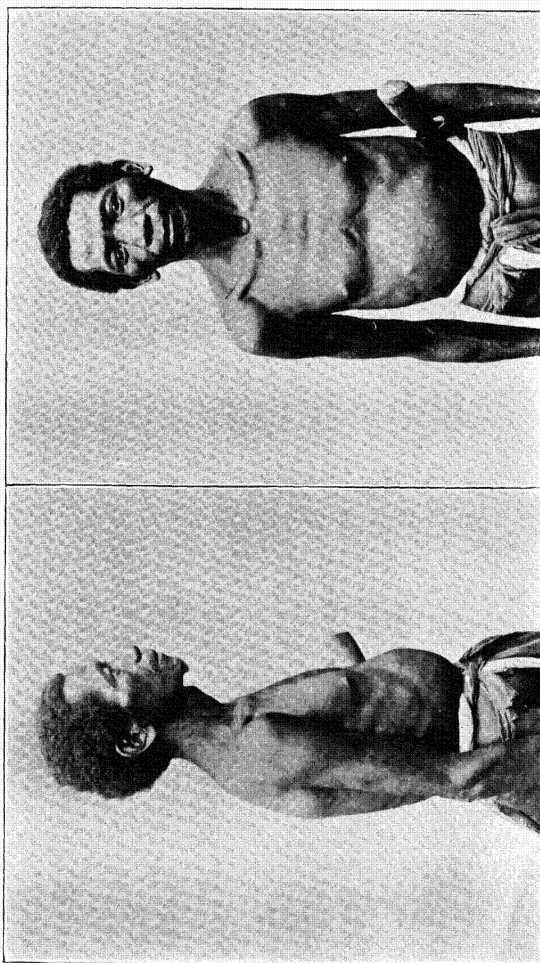
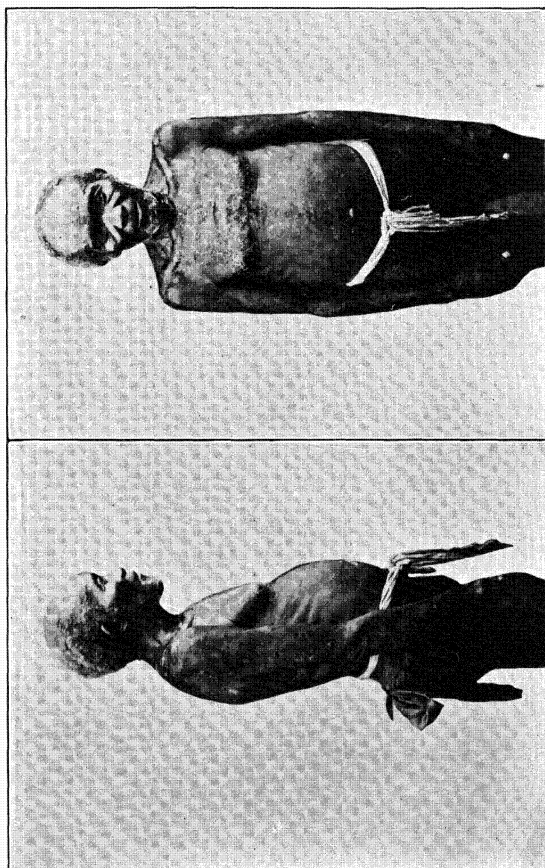


PLATE XII. OLD MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE NEGRO).

Photos by Diamond.



PHOTOS BY DIAMOND.
PLATE XIII. OLD MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE NEGRITO), SHOWING HAIR ON FACE AND CHEST.

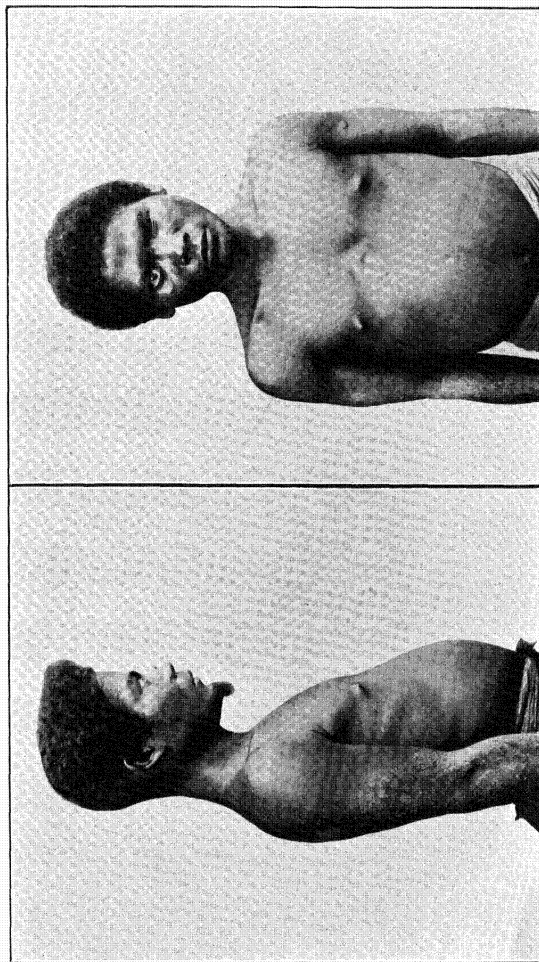
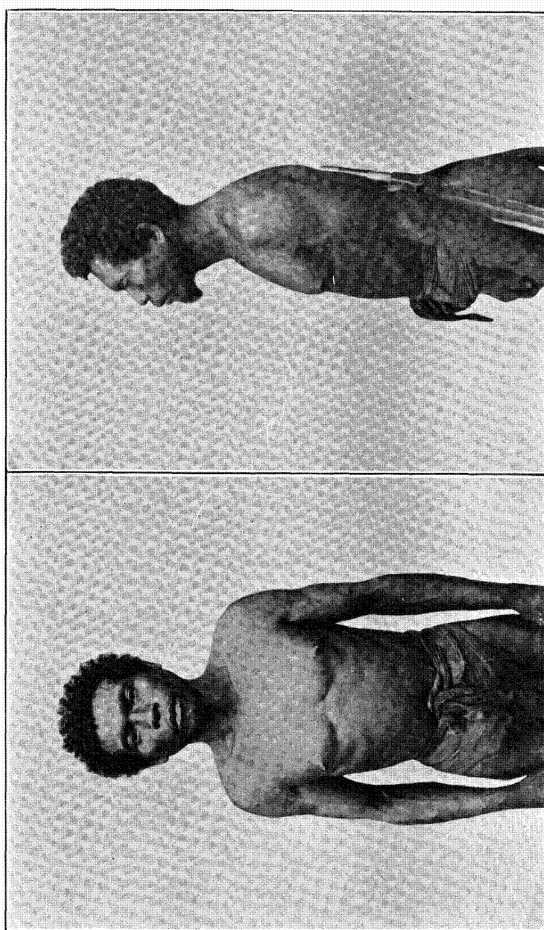
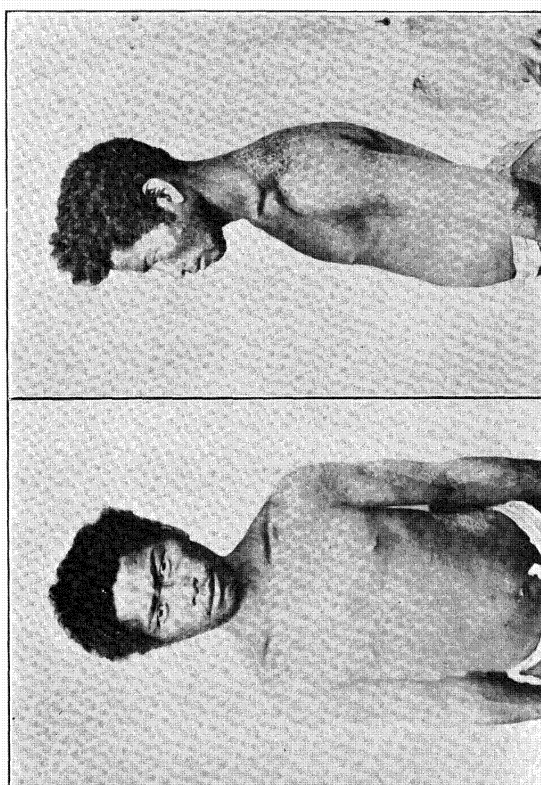


PLATE XIV. NEGRO OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE CHIN AND SKIN DISEASE ON THE ARM.
Photos by Diamond.



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XV. PURE NEGRITO OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE CHIN.



PHOTOS BY HINCHMAN. PLATE XVI. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE FACE.



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XVII. NEGRITO GIRLS. (ONE WITH HAIR CLIPPED BEHIND TO ERADICATE VERMIN.)

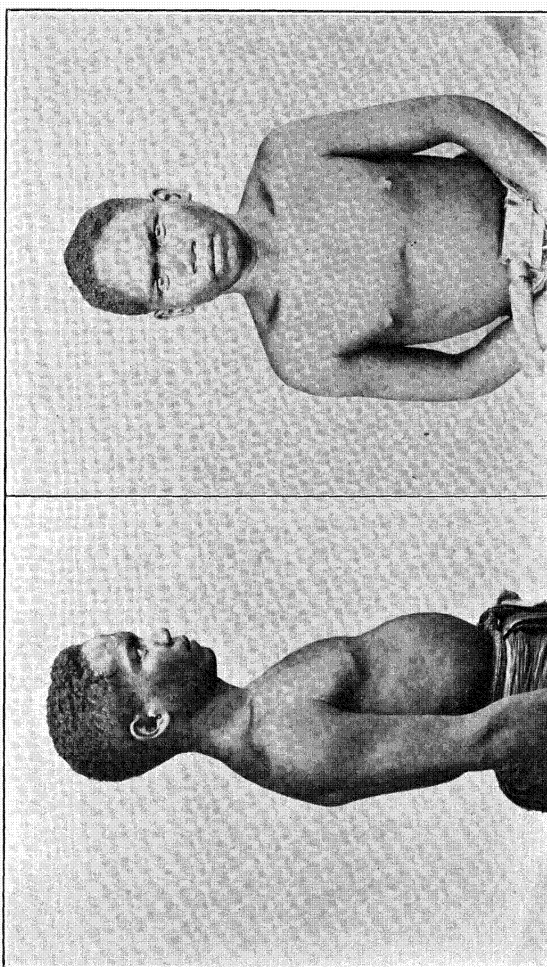


PLATE XVIII. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

Photos by Diamond.

total of more than 1,200. Besides these there are probably many scattered families, especially in the higher and less easily accessible forests of Mount Pinatubo, who live in no fixed spot but lead a wandering existence. And so uncertain are the habits of the more settled Negritos that one of the thirty rancherias known to-day may to-morrow be nothing more than a name, and some miles away a new rancheria may spring up. The tendency to remain in one place seems, however, to be growing.

The mountainous portions of the jurisdictions of the two towns of Botolan and San Marcelino, themselves many miles apart with three or more towns between, are contiguous, the one extending southeast, the other northeast, until they meet. The San Marcelino region contains about the same number of Negritos, grouped in many small communities around five large centers—Santa Fé, Aglao, Cabayan, Pañibutan, and Timao—each of which numbers some 300 Negritos. They are of the same type and culture plane as those nearer Piñatubo, and their habitat is practically the same, a continuation of the more or less rugged Cordillera. They are in constant communication with the Negritos north of them and with those across the Pampanga line east of them. The Negritos of Aglao are also in communication with those of Subig, where there is a single rancheria numbering 45 souls. Still farther south in the jurisdiction of Olongapo are two rancherias, numbering about 100 people, who partake more of the characteristics of the Negritos of Bataan just across the provincial line than they do of those of the north.

Here mention may be made also of the location of rancherias and numbers of Negritos in the provinces adjoining Zambales, as attention is frequently called to them later, especially those of Bataan, for the sake of comparison. Negritos are reported from all of the towns of Bataan, and there are estimated to be 1,500 of them, or about half as many as in Zambales. They are more numerous on the side toward Manila Bay, in the mountains back of Balanga, Orion, and Pilar. Moron and Bagac on the opposite coast each report more than a hundred. There is a colony of about thirty near Mariveles. Owing to repeated visits of tourists to their village and to the fact that they were sent to the Hanoi Exposition in 1903, this group has lost many of the customs peculiar to Negritos in a wild state and has donned the ordinary Filipino attire.

Cabcabe, also in the jurisdiction of Mariveles, has more than a hundred Negritos, and from here to Dinalupijan, the northernmost town of the province, there are from 50 to 200 scattered in small groups around each town and within easy distance. Sometimes, as at Balanga, they are employed on the sugar plantations and make fairly good laborers.

The Negritos of Bataan as a whole seem less mixed with the Malayan than any other group, and fewer mixed bloods are seen among them. Their average stature is also somewhat lower. They speak corrupt Tagalog, though careful study may reveal traces of an original tongue. (See Appendix B for a vocabulary.)

In the section of Pampanga lying near Zambales Province more than a thousand Negritos have been reported from the towns of Florida Blanca, Porac, Angeles, and Mabalacat. There are estimated to be about 1,200 in Tarlac, in the jurisdiction of the towns of O'Donnell, Moriones, Capas, Bamban, and Camiling. There are two or three good trails leading from this province into Zambales by which the Negritos of the two provinces communicate with each other. It is proposed to convert the one from O'Donnell to Botolan into a wagon road, which will have the effect of opening up a little-known territory. Across the line into Pangasinan near the town of Mangataren there is a colony of mixed Negritos somewhat more advanced in civilization than is usually the case with these forest dwellers. According to Dr. D. P. Barrows, who visited their rancherias in December, 1901, it seems to have been the intention of the Spanish authorities to form a reservation at that place which should be a center from which to reach the wilder bands in the hills and to induce them to adopt a more settled life. A Filipino was sent to the rancheria as a "maestro" and remained among the people six years. But the scheme fell through there as elsewhere in the failure of the authorities to provide homes and occupations for the Negritos. The Ilokano came in and occupied all the available territory, and the Negritos now hang around the Ilokano homes, doing a little work and picking up the little food thrown to them. Dr. Barrows states that the group contains no pure types characterized by wide, flat noses and kinky hair. In addition to the bow and arrows they carry a knife called "kampilan" having a wide-curving blade. They use this weapon in a dance called "baluk," brandishing it, snapping their fingers, and whirling about with knees close to the ground. This is farther north than Negritos are found in Zambales but is in territory contiguous to that of the Tarlac Negritos. The entire region contains about 6,000 souls. The groups are so scattered, however, that the territory may be said to be practically unoccupied.

CHAPTER III

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The characteristics which serve more than any others to distinguish the true Negrito from other inhabitants of the Philippines are his small stature, kinky hair, and almost black skin. His eyes may be more round, his nose more short and flat, and his limbs more spindling than is the case with peoples of Malayan extraction, but these features are usually less noticeable. Perhaps undue emphasis has been given by writers on the Negrito to his short stature, until the impression has gone abroad that these primitive men are veritable dwarfs. As a matter of fact, individuals sometimes attain the stature of the shortest of the white men, and apparently only a slight infusion of Malayan blood is necessary to cause the Negrito to equal the Malay in height.

The Aeta of Zambales range in stature from 4 to 5 feet. To be more exact, the maximum height of the 77 individuals measured by me, taking them as they came, with no attempt to select, was 1,600 millimeters (5 feet 2 inches); the maximum height for females was 1,502 millimeters (4 feet 11 inches); the minimum height for males was 1,282 millimeters (4 feet 2 inches), for females, 1,265 millimeters (4 feet). The average of the 48 males measured was 1,463 millimeters (4 feet 9 inches); of the 29 females, 1,378 millimeters (4 feet 6 inches). There is perhaps no greater variation between these figures than there would be between the averages of stature of as many individuals selected at random from any other race. Yet it should be remembered that some of the Negritos included in this list are not pure types—in fact, are no more than half-breeds.

The abnormal length of the arm of the Negritos has been regarded by some writers as an essentially simian characteristic, especially in the case of the pygmy blacks of Central Africa. With the Aeta this characteristic is not so marked, yet 7 out of 8 males had a reach or span greater than the height. The proportion was not so large among the females, being only 2 in 3. The maximum span for males was 1,635 millimeters, for females 1,538 millimeters, but in neither case did

the individuals having the greatest span also have the greatest height. The average span of 48 males exceeded the average height by 37 millimeters; the difference in the case of the females was only 16 millimeters.

Length of arm was taken on only 19 individuals, 16 males and 3 females. The longest arm measured 675 millimeters (2 feet 3 inches), which is not so long as the average Caucasian arm, though more out of proportion to the height, in this case being nearly half the latter measurement. The shortest arm, that of an adult female, was 539 millimeters (21 inches).

So far from being ape like in appearance, some of the Aeta are very well-built little men, with broad chests, symmetrical limbs, and well-developed muscles hardened by incessant use. This applies of course only to the young men and boys just approaching manhood, and is especially noticeable in the southern regions, where the Aeta are generally more robust and muscular. The younger females are also as a rule well formed. In the case of unmarried girls the breasts are rounded and erect, but after marriage gradually become more and more pendant until they hang almost to the waist line. With advancing age the muscles shrink, the skin shrivels up until an individual of 40 to 50 years usually has the decrepit appearance of an octogenarian; in fact, 50 is old age with the Aeta. (See plates.)

Anthropometric observations fall naturally into two groups, dealing with the proportions of the head and body, the latter of which have already been discussed. Great interest attaches also to the relative proportions of the different dimensions of the head and especially to the cephalic index obtained by multiplying the maximum breadth by 100 and dividing by the maximum length. Heads with an index of 75 or under are called *dolichocephalic*; those between 75 and 80, *mesaticephalic*; and those over 80 *brachycephalic*. The heads of the Aeta are essentially *brachycephalic*. Owing to the lack of proper calipers during the greater part of my stay among them, I was able to measure only 19 individuals, but of those all but 5 were in the *brachycephalic* group, one instance being noted where the index was as great as 92; the lowest was 78. The average of the males was 82 and of the females 86.

Considerable importance in anthropometry is attached to the study of the nose. The typical Aeta nose may be described as broad, flat, bridgeless, with prominent arched alæ almost as high as the central cartilage of the nose and with the nostrils invariably visible from the front. The nasal index obtained by dividing the nasal breadth by the height from the root of the nose to the septum and multiplying the quotient by 100 serves to indicate the group to which the individual belongs. Thus it will be seen that races with a nasal index of more than 100 have a nose wider than it is long. This is a marked characteristic of the Aeta. Of the 76 Aeta I measured, 25 were *ultraplatyrhian*—that is, had a nasal index greater than 109. One individual, a

female, showed the surprising index of 140.7, the greatest so far recorded to my knowledge. The greatest nasal index among the males was 130.7. Only one example of a *mesorhine* nose was noted, also of a female, and but 7 *platyrrhine*. The most of them belonged in the *hyperplatyrrhine* group. The following table will show the proper classification of the individuals measured by me:

Nasal index of Zambales Negritos

| Group | Sex and number | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|---------|
| | Males | Females |
| Mesorhine (69.5-81.4)----- | | 1 |
| Platyrrhine (81.5-87.8)----- | 3 | 4 |
| Hyperplatyrrhine (87.9-108.8)----- | 27 | 16 |
| Ultraplatyrrhine (109 and over)----- | 15 | 10 |

The shape of the eye varies from the round negroid of the pure bloods to the elongated mongoloid in the case of mixed types. The color of the eyes is a very dark brown or black. The lips are medium thick, far less thick than the lips of the African negro, and are not protruding.

The hair of the Aeta is uniformly kinky in the case of the pure types. Individuals were noted with other negroid features but with curly hair, showing a probable mixture of blood. The hair grows low on the forehead and is very thick. Eyebrows are not heavy, save in particular instances, and beard is very scanty, though all adult males have some beard. There is very little body hair on adults of either sex, except in the axillary and pubic regions, and it is scant even in these places. The northern Negritos have practically none in the armpits. Two or three old men were seen with a coating of hair over the back, chest, and legs. The head hair is uniformly of a dirty black color, in some instances sunburned on top to a reddish brown. It turns gray at a comparatively early age, and baldness is frequent. (See Pls. XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.)

In the case of women the hair is generally allowed to grow long, and in this tangled, uncombed state furnishes an excellent breeding place for vermin. However, if the vermin become troublesome the hair is sometimes cut short. (See Pl. XVII.) The cutting is done with the ever-useful bolo or sharp knife and is a somewhat laborious and painful process. Sometimes the hair may be cropped behind and left long on top. This is a favorite style of wearing it among the men, and is frequently followed by the women. Attempt is seldom made to comb the hair, but frequent vermin-catching onslaughts are made, the person performing the work using a sharp piece of bamboo to separate the tangled kinks and to mash the offending parasite against the

thumb nail. In Bataan the Negritos sometimes shave a circular place on the crown, but I am not informed as to the reason. The practice is not followed in Zambales.

The color of the skin is a dark chocolate brown rather than black, and on unexposed portions of the body approaches a yellowish tint of the Malayan. The loathsome skin disease common in the northern region of Luzon gives it a mottled appearance.

The Acta have practically no prognathism. The hands are not large, but the feet are larger in proportion to the size of the body than those of Filipinos. The toes are spreading, and the large toe frequently extends inward so much as to attract attention, though this can not be said to be a marked characteristic of all individuals. It may be caused by a constant practice of the tree climber—that of grasping a branch between the large toes and the other toes. I have seen Negrito boys who would use their feet in this respect as well as they used their hands.

PERMANENT ADORNMENT

The custom prevails throughout the entire Negrito territory of sharpening the teeth. Usually only the upper teeth are so treated, but numerous cases were noted where the teeth were sharpened both above and below, and still there were others where they were not sharpened at all. This sharpening is not performed at any certain age, and it is apparently not obligatory; I do not believe parents compel their children to submit to this practice. The object seems to be largely for the sake of adornment, but the Negritos say that sharpened teeth enable them to eat corn with greater ease. The sharpening is done by placing the blade of a bolo against the part of the tooth to be broken away and giving it a sharp rap with a piece of wood. The operation, called “ta-li-han,” is a somewhat delicate one, requiring care to prevent breaking through into the soft part of the tooth and exposing the nerve, and is no doubt practiced by only one or two persons in a group, though this fact could not be ascertained. Notwithstanding this mutilation, the teeth seem to be remarkably healthy and well preserved except in old age.

In like manner each group of people possesses its scarifier, who by practice becomes adept. Scarification simply for purposes of ornamentation is not practiced to any great extent by the Negritos around Pinatubo. They burn themselves for curative purposes (see Chap. VI) and are sometimes covered with scars, but not the kind of scars produced by incisions. Only occasionally is the latter scarification seen near Pinatubo. In regions where it is common the work is usually done at the age of 15 or 16, although it may be done at any age. The incisions are made with a knife or a very sharp piece of cane, and generally follow some regular design. Scarification is called “ta-bád,” and it

has no other significance than adornment. The parts of the body usually marked are the breast, shoulders, and back, although scars are occasionally seen on the legs.

CLOTHING AND DRESS

The clothing of the Negrito consists simply of the breechcloth and an occasional cast-off shirt given him by some Filipino in exchange for articles. Sometimes in cases of extreme prosperity he may possess a hat and a pair of trousers. The latter garment is usually worn, however, only by the chief man or "capitán" of the tribe, and the rank and file wear only the breechcloth.

A strip of cloth fastened around the waist and extending to the knees serves a woman for a dress. With unmarried girls this strip may be wound under the arms and so cover the breast. Rarely a short camisa is worn, but seldom do the camisa and the saya, or skirt, join. Sometimes, owing to the scarcity of cloth, a narrow strip will be worn over the breast, leaving a broad expanse of dark skin between it and the saya. (Pls. XXIX et seq.)

If given their choice among a variety of colors the Negritos always select black for their breechcloth and saya, because, they explain, the black will not show dirt as will other colors. Gaudy colors seem to attract and will be readily accepted as gifts if nothing else is at hand; yet I had some difficulty in disposing of a bolt of red cloth I had taken among them, and finally had to take the greater part of it back to the pueblo and exchange it for black. So far as I could learn the breechcloth and saya are never washed, and any cloth other than black would soon lose its original color. The cloth used by Negritos is procured in trade from the Christian towns.

In the less easily accessible regions where the wilder Negritos live the breechcloth and saya are made of the inner bark of certain trees which is flayed until it becomes soft and pliable.

The Negrito takes little pride in his personal appearance, and hence is not given to elaborate ornamentation. The women wear seed necklaces, called "col-in'-ta," of black, white, and brown seeds, sometimes of a single solid color and sometimes with the colors alternating. I have also seen necklaces of small stones, hard berries of some sort, pieces of button or bone, and little round pieces of wood. Some women possess glass beads secured in trade from the Christianized natives. Often two or three white or black beads are used for ear ornaments, though it is not a very common practice to puncture the ears for this purpose as in Bataan, where leaves and flowers are often worn stuck in a hole through the lobe of the ear. What appears to be a necklace and really answers the purpose of such is a string of dried berries, called "a-mu-yong," which are said to be efficacious for the pangs of indigestion. (See Pl. XXXV.) When the Negrito feels a pain within

him he pulls off a berry and eats it. One may see a string with just a few berries, and again a complete necklace of them, evidently just put on. These are worn by both sexes and are so worn for the sake of convenience as much as with the idea of ornamentation, for the Negrito has no pocket. Necklaces of fine woven strips of bejuco or vegetable fiber are sometimes seen but are not common. These strands are woven over a piece of cane, the lengthwise strands being of one color, perhaps yellow, and the crosswise strands black, giving a very pretty effect and making a durable ornament which the Negritos call "la-lao'."

Hair ornaments are not generally worn, but nearly every Negrito, male and female, especially in southern Zambales and Bataan, possesses one or more of the so-called combs of bambôo. A single style prevails over the entire Negrito territory, differing only in minor details. A section of bamboo or mountain cane, varying in length from 5 to 10 inches, is split in thirds or quarters and one of these pieces forms the body of the comb. Teeth are cut at one end and the back is ornamented according to the taste of the maker by a rude carving. This carving consists simply of a series of lines or cuts, following some regular design into which dirt is rubbed to make it black. The combs may be further decorated with bright-colored bird feathers fastened with beeswax or gum to the concave side of the end which has no teeth. The feathers may be notched saw-tooth fashion and have string tassels fastened to the ends. In lieu of feathers horsehair and a kind of moss or other plant fiber are often used. The most elaborate decorations were noticed only in the north, while the combs of the south have either no ornamentation or have simply the hair or moss. These combs, which the Negritos call "hook'-lay," are made and worn by both men and women, either with the tasseled and feathered ends directly in front or directly behind. (See Pl. XXXVI.)

Leglets of wild boars' bristles, called "a-yá-bun," are more common in the south than in the north. These are made by taking a strip of bejuco and fastening the bristles to it so that they stand out at right angles to the leg of the wearer. They are used only by men and are worn on either leg, usually on the right just below the knee. The Negritos say these leglets give the wearer greater powers of endurance and are efficacious in making long journeys less tiresome. "For is not the wild boar the most hardy of all animals?" they ask. This idea is further carried out in the wearing of pieces of boars' skin with the hair attached, which may often be seen tied around the legs or wrists. Deerskin, which is quite as common among the Negritos, is never used in such fashion. Metal rings and bracelets are entirely unknown among the Negritos except where secured from the coast towns. (See Pl. XXXVII.)

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL LIFE

HOME LIFE

The general condition of the Negritos, although not one of extreme misery, is indeed pitiable. Their life is a continual struggle for sufficient food, but their efforts to provide for themselves stop short at that; clothing and houses are of secondary importance. The average Negrito takes little pride in his dwelling place. A shelter sufficient to turn the beating rains is all he asks. He sees to it that the hut is on ground high enough so that water will not stand in it; then, curled up beside his few coals of fire, he sleeps with a degree of comfort.

The most easily constructed hut, and therefore the most common, consists simply of two forked sticks driven into the ground so they stand about 8 feet apart and 4 feet high. A horizontal piece is laid in the two forks, then some strips of bamboo are inclined against this crosspiece, the other ends resting on the ground. Some cross strips are tied with bejuco to these bamboos and the whole is covered with banana leaves. With the materials close at hand a half hour is sufficient for one man to construct such a shelter. Where a comparatively long residence in one place is contemplated more care may be given the construction of a house, but the above description will apply to many dwellings in a rancheria two or three years old. Instead of two upright pieces make it four, somewhat higher, and place a bamboo platform within so the occupants do not have to sleep on the ground, and you have an approved type of Negrito architecture. Sometimes as an adjunct to this a shelter may be erected in front, provided with a bamboo seat for the accommodation of visitors. The more prosperous Negritos in the long-established rancherias have four-posted houses of bamboo, with roof and sides of cogon grass. The floors are 4 feet from the ground and the cooking is done underneath the floors. A small fire is kept burning all night. The inmates of the house sleep just above it, and in this way receive some benefit of the warmth. If it were not for these fires the Negrito would suffer severely from cold during the night, for he possesses no blanket and uses no covering of any sort.

For two reasons he never lets his fire go out; first, because he likes to feel the warmth continually, and second, because it is something of a task to build a fire, once it has gone out. (See Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX.)

The method of making fire used universally by the Negritos of Zambales is that of the flint and steel, which apparatus they call "pan'-ting." The steel is prized highly, because it is hard to get; it is procured in trade from the Christianized natives. Nearly every Negrito carries a flint and steel in a little grass basket or case dangling down his back and suspended by a fiber string from his neck. In the same basket are usually tobacco leaves, buyo, and other small odds and ends. Sometimes this pouch is carried in the folds of the breechcloth, which is the only pocket the Negrito possesses.

The flint-and-steel method of fire making has almost entirely supplanted the more primitive method of making fire by rubbing two sticks together; but in some instances this method is still followed, and everywhere the Negritos know of it. They do not know whether the method is original with them or not, but they admit they borrowed the flint-and-steel idea from the Filipinos. When the friction process is employed a piece of bamboo with a hole in it, in which are firmly held some fine shavings or lint, is violently rubbed crosswise against the edge of another piece until the friction ignites the lint. It is called "pan-a-han'." When two men are working together one holds the lower piece firmly while the other man rubs across it the sharpened edge of the upper piece. If a man is working alone the piece with the sharpened edge is held firmly between the ground and the man's waist; the other piece of bamboo with the slit in is rubbed up and down on the sharp edge. (See Pls. XL, XLI.)

In lieu of other vessels, rice and similar foods are cooked in joints of green bamboo, which are placed in the coals and hot ashes. When the food is cooked the bamboo is split open and the contents poured out on banana leaves. This is by far the most common method employed, though not a few Negritos possess earthenware pots, and some few have a big iron vessel. Meats are always roasted by cutting into small bits and stringing on a strip of cane. Maize is roasted on hot coals. Everything is eaten without salt, although the Negritos like salt and are very glad to get it.

It has already been noted that the Negrito has a hard time to get enough to eat, and for that reason there is scarcely anything in the animal or vegetable kingdom of his environment of which he does not make use. He never has more than two meals a day, sometimes only one, and he will often start early in the morning on a deer hunt without having eaten any food and will hunt till late in the afternoon. In addition to the fish, eels, and crayfish of the streams, the wild boar and wild chicken of the plain and woodland, he will eat iguanas and

any bird he can catch, including crows, hawks, and vultures. Large pythons furnish especially toothsome steaks, so he says, but, if so, his taste in this respect is seldom satisfied, for these reptiles are extremely scarce.

Besides rice, maize, camotes, and other cultivated vegetables there is not a wild tuber or fruit with which the Negrito's stomach is not acquainted. Even some that in their raw state would be deadly poisonous he soaks and boils in several waters until the poison is extracted, and then he eats them. This is the case with a yellow tuber which he calls "ca-lot'." In its natural form it is covered with stiff bristles. The Negritos peel off the skin and slice the vegetable into very thin bits and soak in water two days, after which it is boiled in two or three waters until it has lost its yellow color. In order to see if any poison still remains some of it is fed to a dog, and if he does not die they themselves eat it. In taste it somewhat resembles cooked rice. This was told me by an old Negrito who I believe did not possess enough invention to make it up, and is in part verified by Mr. O. Atkin, division superintendent of Zambales, who says in a report to the General Superintendent of Education, October, 1903, concerning the destitution of the town of Infanta, that the people of that town were forced by scarcity of food to eat this tuber, there called "co-rot'." He was told that it was soaked in running water five or six days before cooking, and if not prepared in this way it would cause severe sickness, even death. In fact, some cases were known where persons had died eating co-rot'.

A white, thin-skinned tuber, called "bol'-wi," which is found in the forests, is highly prized by the Negritos, although it grows so deep in the ground that the labor of digging it is considerable. Among the cultivated vegetables are the common butter beans, called "an-tak'," and black beans, known as "an-tak' ik-no'" or "sitting-down beans" from the fact that the pods curl up at one end. Ga-bi and bau'-gan are white tubers, and u'-bi a dark-red tuber—which they eat. Other common products are maize, pumpkins, and camotes.

The Negrito has ordinarily no table but the bare ground, and at best a coarse mat; he has no dishes but banana leaves and cocoanut shells, and no forks or spoons but his fingers. He brings water from a stream in a piece of bamboo about three joints long in which all but one joint has been punched out, and drinks it from a piece of cocoanut shell. If he needs to cut anything to eat he has his ever-ready bolo, which he may have used a moment before in skinning a pig and which is never washed. He is repulsively dirty in his home, person, and everything he does. Nothing is ever washed except his hands and face, and those only rarely. He never takes a bath, because he thinks that if he bathes often he is more susceptible to cold, that a covering

of dirt serves as clothing, although he frequently gets wet either in the rain or when fishing or crossing streams. This is probably one reason why skin diseases are so common.

AGRICULTURE

The Negrito can not by any stretch of imagination be called a worker. His life for generations has not been such as to teach habits of industry. But for the fact that he has to do some work or starve, he would spend all his days in idleness except that time which he devoted to the chase. Yet when under pressure or urged on by anticipation of gain from the white man, whose wealth and munificence appear boundless, he is tireless. He will clear ground for a camp, cut and split bamboo, and make tables and sleeping platforms, which he would never think of doing for himself. He can get along without such things, and why waste the time? Yet when the camp is abandoned he will carry these things to his house. Most Negritos have seen the better style of living followed by the more civilized Filipinos in the outlying barrios; yet they seem to have no desire to emulate it, and I believe that the lack of such desire is due to a disinclination to perform the necessary manual labor.

By far the greater part of the Negrito's energies are directed to the growing of tobacco, maize, and vegetables. He does not plant rice to any extent. All planting is done in cleared spots in the forest, because the soil is loose and needs no plowing as in the case of the lowland. The small trees and underbrush are cut away and burned and the large trees are killed, for the Negrito has learned the two important things in primitive farming—first, that the crops will not thrive in the shade, and second, that a tree too large to cut may be killed by cutting a ring around it to prevent the flow of sap. The clearings are never large.

Usually each family has its clearing in a separate place, though sometimes two or more families may cultivate adjoining clearings. The places are selected with a view to richness of soil and ease in clearing. In addition to preparing the ground it is necessary to build a fence around the clearing in order to keep out wild hogs. A brush fence is constructed by thrusting sticks in the ground a few inches apart and twining brush between them.

All work of digging up the soil, planting, and cultivating is done with sharpened sticks of hard wood, sometimes, but not always, pointed with iron, for iron is scarce. This instrument is called "ti-ad," the only other tool they possess being the bolo, with which they do all the cutting.

Men, women, and children work in these clearings, but I did not see any division of labor, except that the men, being more adept with the bolo, do whatever cutting there is to be done. Once planted, the

weeding and care of the crops falls largely on the women and children, while the men take their ease or hunt and fish.

The piece of ground for planting is regarded as the personal property of the head of the family which cleared it, and he can sell it or otherwise dispose of it at his pleasure. No one else would think of planting on it even though the owner has abandoned it, unless he declared that he had no more use for it, then it could be occupied by anyone else.

An instance of the respect which the Negritos have for the property rights of others was given me by a native of the town of Botolan. His grandfather had acquired a piece of land near Mount Pinatubo from a Negrito who had committed some crime in his rancheria and fled to the pueblo to escape death. In return for protection the Negrito had given him the land. This fact became known to the other Negritos, but although the new owner made no use of the land whatever, and never even visited it, it has never been molested or cultivated by others. Now two generations later they have sent down to the grandson of the first Filipino owner asking permission to buy the land. Land may be sold to others, but of course there exists no record of such transactions other than that of memory.

MANUFACTURE AND TRADE

The Negrito knows little of the art of making things. Aside from the bows and arrows which he constructs with some degree of skill he has no ingenuity, and his few other products are of the most crude and primitive type. The bows of the Negritos of Zambales are superior to any the writer has seen in the Philippines. They are made from the wood of the well-known *palma brava* and are gracefully cut and highly polished. The strings are of twisted bark, as soft and pliable and as strong as thongs of deerskin. Although made from the same wood, the bows of the Negritos of Negros are not nearly so graceful, and the strings consist simply of one piece of bejuco with a small loop at either end which slips over the end of the bow, and, once on, can neither be loosened nor taken up. The Negritos of Panay generally use a bamboo bow, much shorter and clumsier than those of *palma brava*.

Also, while the Negritos of the southern islands generally use arrows with hardwood points and without feathered shafts, those used in Zambales are triumphs of the arrow maker's art. In either case the shafts are of the light, hard, and straight mountain cane, but instead of the clumsy wooden points the Zambales Negritos make a variety of iron points for different purposes, some, as for large game, with detachable points. (See Pl. XLII.) The shafts are well feathered with the feathers of hawks and other large birds. Three feathers are placed about the arrow and securely wrapped at each end with a thin strip of bejuco or some strong grass.

The war arrows, in addition to having more elaborately barbed points, are further embellished by incised decorations the entire length of the shaft. These incisions consist simply of a series of lines into which dirt has been rubbed so that they offer a striking contrast to the white surface of the arrow.

The women weave some coarse baskets out of bamboo, but they are neither well shaped nor pretty. Sometimes to adorn them one strand or strip of bamboo is stained black and the other left its natural color. Other objects of manufacture are their ornaments, already described in Chapter III, and musical instruments. (See Chap. VI.)

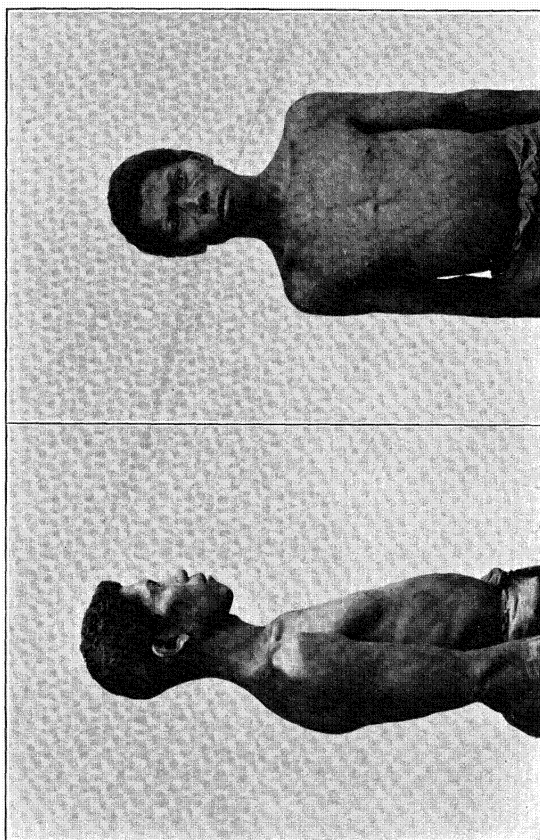
The Negrito knows that the people of the lowlands for some reason have more food than he. He can not go down and live there and work as they do, because, being timid by nature, he can not feel secure amid an alien people, and, besides, he likes his mountain too well to live contentedly in the hot plains. He makes nothing that the lowlands want, but he knows they use, in the construction of their houses, bejuco, of which his woods are full, and he has learned that they value beeswax, which he knows where to find and how to collect. Moreover, there are certain mountain roots, such as wild ginger, that have a market value. His tobacco also finds a ready sale to the Filipinos.

The bolo is the only tool necessary to cut and strip the bejuco, which he ties into bunches of one hundred and takes into his hut for safety until such a time as a trade can be made. These bunches never bring him more than a peseta each. He collects the beeswax from a nest of wild bees which he has smoked out, melts it, and pours it into a section of bamboo.

It is not always necessary that he take his products down to the town, for the Filipinos are eager enough to trade with him to go out to his rancheria carrying the little cloth, rice, iron, or steel that he is willing to take for his hard-gained produce. Perhaps the townspeople go out because they can drive better bargains. However that may be, the Negrito always gets the worst of the deal, whether in town or at his own home.

HUNTING AND FISHING

The Negrito is by instinct, habits, and of necessity a hunter. Although he has advanced somewhat beyond that stage of primitive life where man subsists wholly from the fruits of the chase, yet it is so necessary to him that were he deprived of it the existence of his race would be seriously threatened. Since the chase has furnished him a living for centuries, it is not strange that much of the ingenuity he possesses should be devoted to the construction of arms and traps and snares with which he may kill or capture the creatures of the woods and streams. His environment does not supply a great variety of game, but there are always deer and wild boars in abundance. Then there



PHOTOS BY DUNNWOOD.
PLATE XIX. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (MIXED BLOOD).

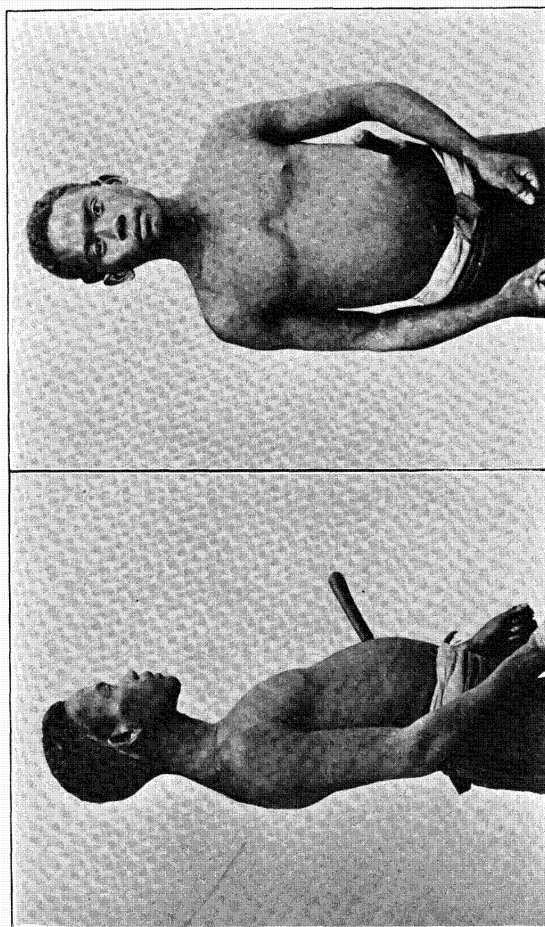
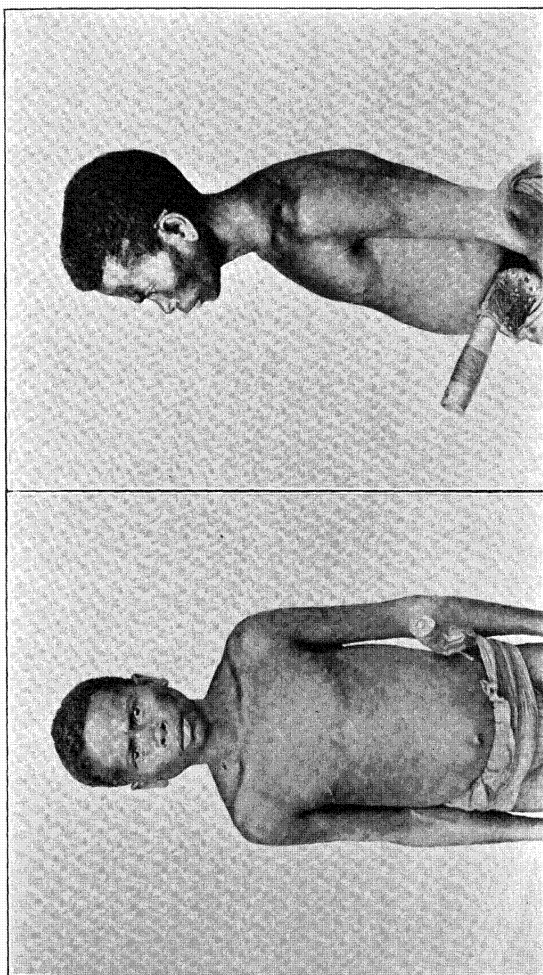


PLATE XX. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

Photos by Diamond.



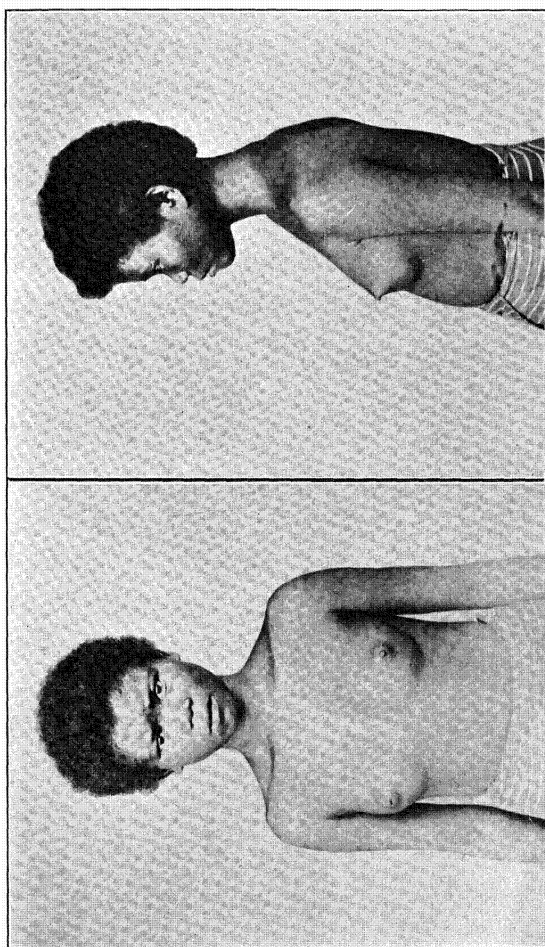
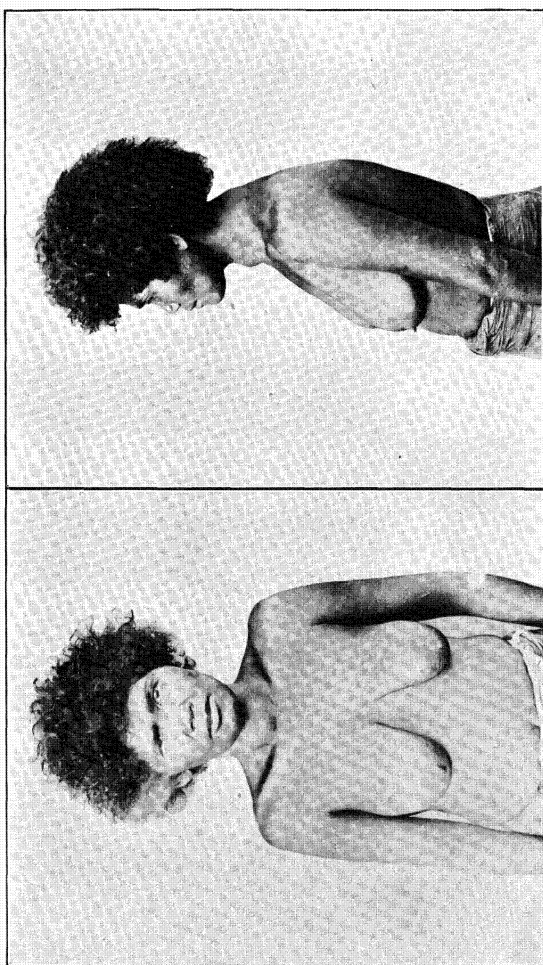
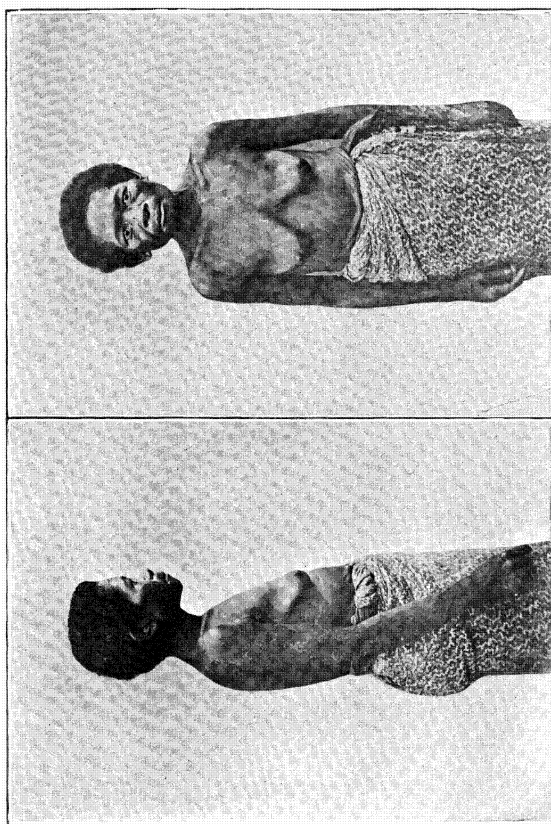


PLATE XXII. NEGRO GIRL OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

Photos by Diamond.



Photos by Diamond.
PLATE XXIII. NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES (MIXED BLOOD).



Photos by Diamond.
PLATE XXIV. OLD NEGRO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

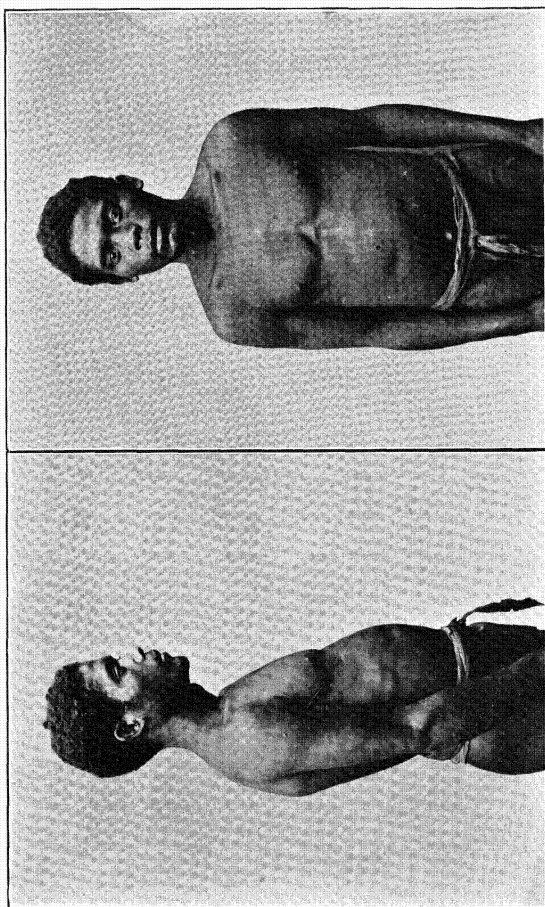
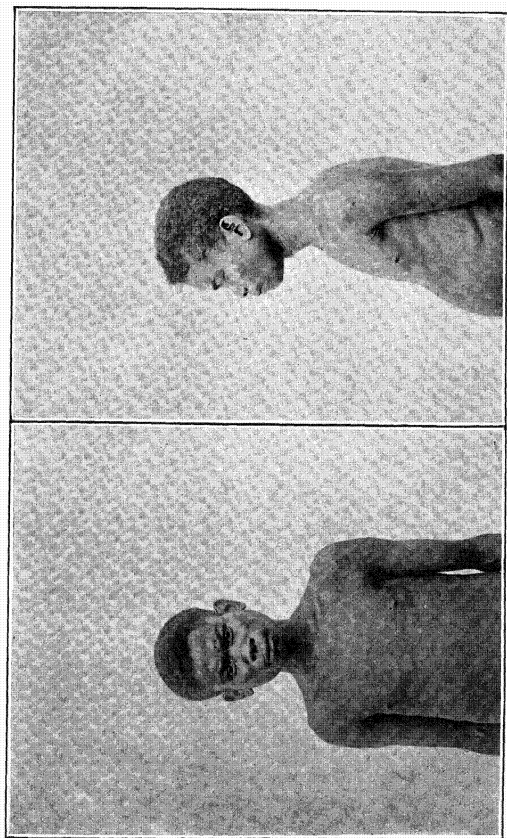


PLATE XXV. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

Photos by Diamond.



Photos by Reed.

PLATE XXVI. NEGRITTO MAN OF NEGROS (MIXED BLOOD).

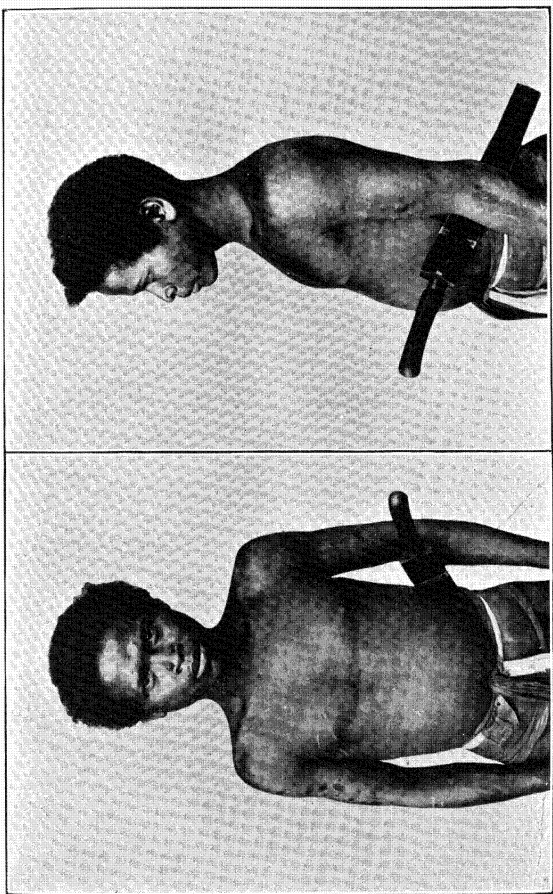


Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XXVII. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBALES.

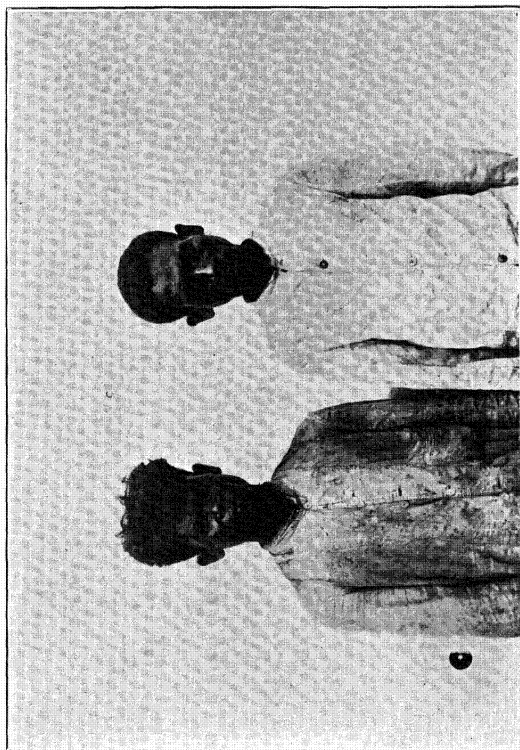


Photo by Bond.
PLATE XXVII. NEGROS OF MAAO, OCCIDENTAL NEGROS (EMIGRANTS FROM PANAY, MIXED BLOODS).

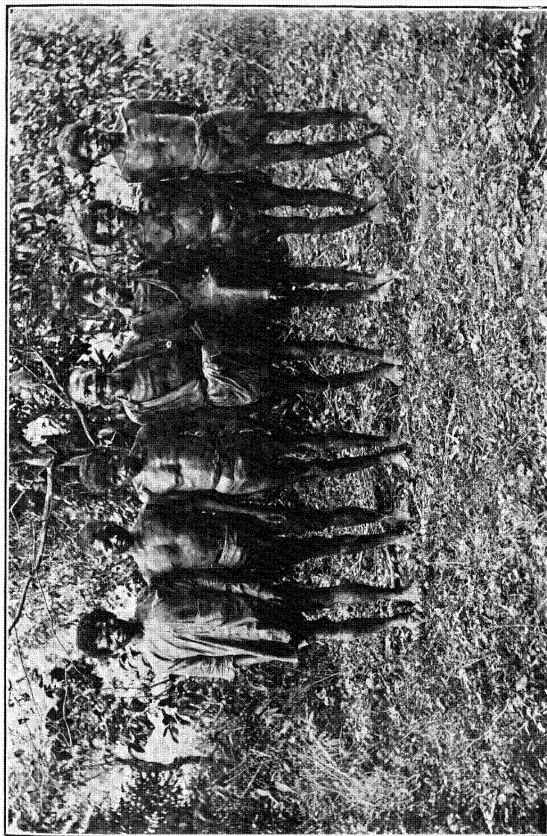


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXIX. GROUP OF NEGRITO MEN AT SANTA FÉ, ZAMBALES.

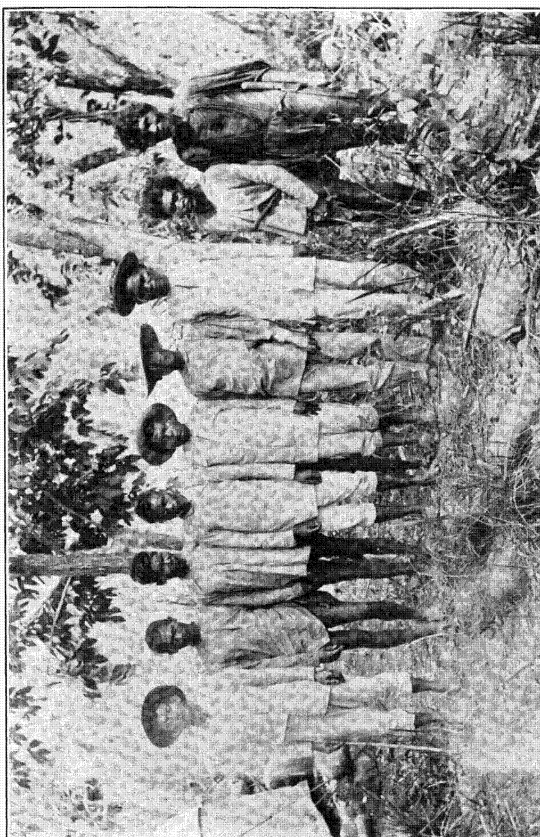


Photo by Diamond. PLATE XXX. PRINCIPAL MEN OF TAGILTIL, ZAMBALES (PURE ZAMBAL AND MIXED NEGRITO).

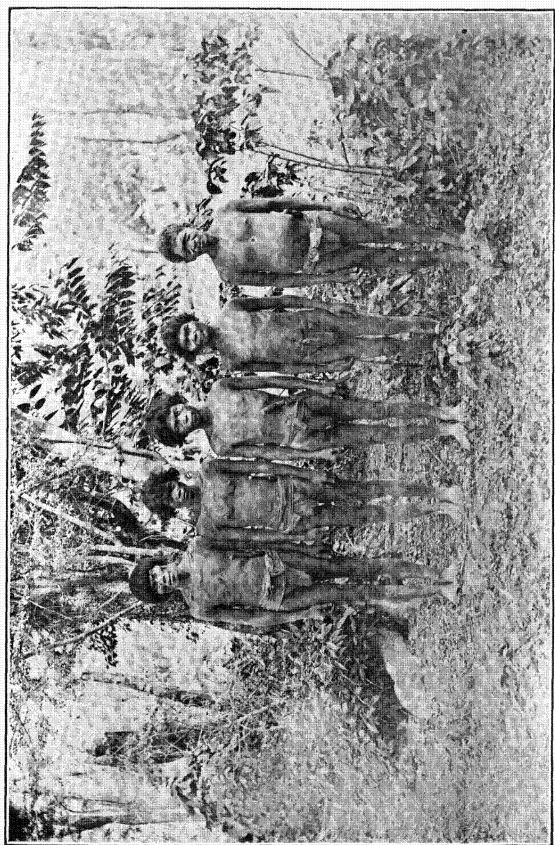


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXXI. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES (MIXED BLOODS).

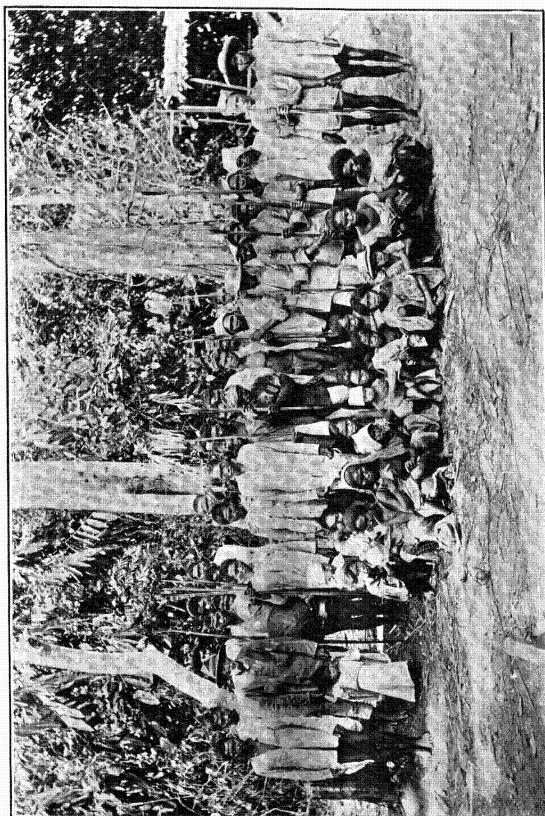


Photo by Davidson.
PLATE XXXII. GROUP OF PEOPLE CALLED ABUHLIN (NON-CHRISTIAN ZAMBAL AND NEGRO MIXED BLOODS).



Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXXIII. NEGRO WOMEN OF ZAMBALES.

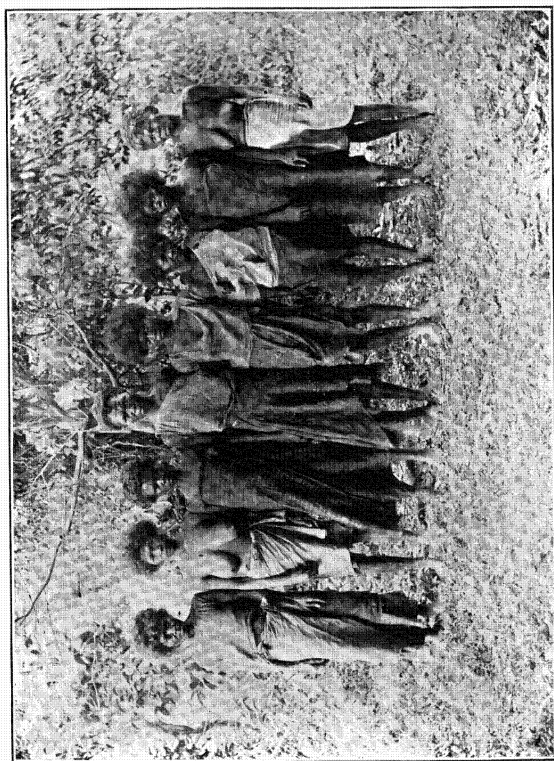


Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XXXIV. GROUP OF NEGRITO WOMEN AT SANTA FÉ, ZAMBALES, SHOWING DRESS.

are wild chickens and many birds which none but the Negrito would think of eating, and the mountain streams have a few small fish.

It is the capture of the deer which makes the greatest demands on the Negrito's skill. Doubtless his first efforts in this direction were to lie in wait by a run and endeavor to get a shot at a passing animal. But this required an infinite amount of patience, for the deer has a keen nose, and two or three days might elapse before the hunter could get even a glimpse of the animal. So he bethought himself of a means to entrap the deer while he rested at home. At first he made a simple noose of bejuco so placed in the run that the deer's head would go through it and it would close on his neck like a lasso. But this was not very effective. In the first place it was necessary that the run be of the right width with underbrush on either side, because if the noose were too large the deer might jump through it and if too small he might brush it to one side.

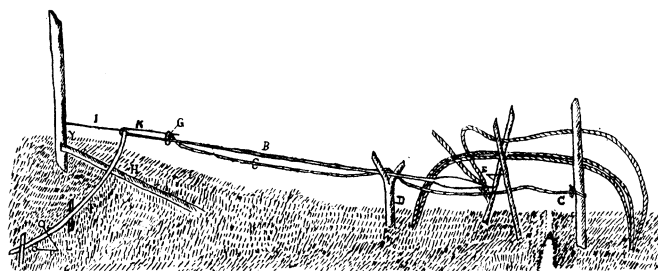


FIG. 1.—“Belatic,” trap used by Negritos.

(A, The run of the animal; B, Spear; C, Bejuco string which the animal strikes; D, Support for spear; G, Ring to which string is tied; F, Spring; K, Strip of cane fastened to end of F, bent over and held down by G; I, String fastened to K and hence holding spring; J, Upright to which I is tied; H, Brace; E, Crossed sticks to drive animal through opening; L, Pegs to hold spring in place.)

The results of this method were so uncertain that the practice has fallen into disuse. Recourse is now had to the deadly “belatic.” I do not believe that this trap, which is common nearly all over the Philippines, is original with the Negrito. It is probably the product of the Malayan brain. A trap almost identical with this and called “belantay” is described by Mr. Abraham Hale¹ as belonging to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, whom the Philippine Negrito resembles in many ways. The similarity between the two words “belatic” and “belantay” is apparent. In Ilokano and Pampanga this trap is called “balantic,” accented, like the Sakai term, on the last syllable. In Tagalog and Bisayan the letter “n” is dropped and the word is pronounced “be-lat’-ic.” Mr. Hale does not state whether the word is Sakai or is borrowed from the Malay. But according to Clifford and Swettenham’s Malay Dictionary the pure Malay term is “belante,” which, as it is even more

¹ Journal Anth. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 15.

similar to the terms in use in the Philippines, puts an end to the doubt concerning the origin of the word.

The belatic consists of a long arrow or spear, which is driven, with all the force of a drawn bough or other piece of springy wood, across the path of the animal which strikes the cord, releasing the spring. (See fig. 1.)

When the string C is struck it pulls the movable ring G, releasing K, which immediately flies up, releasing the string I and hence the spring F. The spear, which is usually tied to the end of the spring, though it may simply rest against it, immediately bounds forward, impaling the animal. The spring is either driven into the ground or is firmly held between the two uprights L. This trap is almost invariably successful.

Wild chickens and birds are caught with simple spring traps. The hungry bird tugging at an innocent-appearing piece of food releases a spring which chokes him to death. The noose snare for catching wild chickens invented by the Christianized natives is also used to some extent by the Negritos. This trap consists of a lot of small nooses of rattan or bejuco so arranged on a long piece of cane that assisted by pegs driven into the ground they retain an upright position. This is arranged in convex form against a wall or thicket of underbrush so that a bird can not enter the space thus inclosed except by way of the trap. In this inclosed area is placed a tame cock whose crowing attracts the wild one. The latter, spoiling for a fight, makes for the noisy challenger and runs his head through a noose which draws the tighter the more he struggles.

The Negrito, as has been said, is remarkably ingenious in the construction of arrows. Those with which he hunts the deer are provided with cruelly barbed, detachable iron point. (Figs. 8, 9, Pl. XLII.) When the animal is struck the point leaves the shaft, unwinding a long woven coil with which the two are fastened together. The barbs prevent the point from tearing out of the flesh and the dangling shaft catches on the underbrush and serves to retard the animal's flight. In spite of this, however, the stricken deer sometimes gets away, probably to die a lingering death with the terrible iron point deeply imbedded in its flesh. A similar arrow is mentioned by De Quatrefages as having been found by Man among the Mincopies of the Andamans.¹

The arrows which are used to kill smaller animals and birds have variously shaped iron heads without barbs. (Figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, Pl. XLII.) However, in shooting small birds a bamboo arrow is used. One end is split a little way, 5 or 6 inches, into three, four, or five sections. These are sharpened and notched and are held apart by small wedges securely fixed by wrappings of cord. If the bird is not

¹ *Pygmies*, p. 111.

impaled on one of the sharp points it may be held in the fork. (Figs. 2, 3, 4, Pl. XLII.) The fish arrows have long, slender, notched iron points roughly resembling a square or cylindrical file. The points are from 4 to 8 inches in length. Sometimes they are provided with small barbs. (Figs. 5, 6, 7, Pl. XLII.)

The Negritos of Zambales are not so expert in the use of bows and arrows as their daily use of these weapons would seem to indicate. They seldom miss the larger animals at close range, but are not so lucky in shooting at small objects. I have noticed that they shoot more accurately upward into the trees than horizontally. For instance, a boy of 10 would repeatedly shoot mangoes out of a tree, but when I posted a mark at 30 yards and offered a prize for the best shot no one could hit it.

The Negritos usually hunt in bands, and, because they have little else to do and can go out and kill a deer almost any time, they do not resort much to the use of traps. A long line of thirty men winding down the path from their village, all armed with bows twice their height and a handful of arrows, their naked bodies gleaming in the early morning sun, presents a truly novel sight. They have with them five or six half-starved dogs. When the haunts of the deer are reached, a big gully cutting through the level table-land, thick with cane and underbrush through which a tiny stream finds its way, half a dozen boys plunge into the depths with the dogs and the rest walk along either side or lie in wait at runs. The Negritos in the thicket yell continually and beat the brush, but the dogs are silent until game is scented. Then the cries of the runners are redoubled and the din warns those lying in wait to be alert. Presently from one of the many runs leading out of the ravine a deer appears and, if there happens to be a Negrito on the spot, gets an arrow. But, unless vitally wounded, on he goes followed by the dogs, which never give up the chase of a wounded deer. When a deer is killed it is hung up in a tree and the hunt proceeds.

Sometimes the thick canebrakes along the river beds are beaten up in this way, or the lightly timbered mountain ravines; for the Negrito knows that the deer lie in a cool, sheltered place in the daytime and come forth to browse only at night. On clear, moonlight nights they sometimes attempt to stalk the deer while grazing in the open field, but are not usually successful. Quite often in the chase a long rope net, resembling a fish net but much coarser and stronger, is placed in advance of the beating party in some good position where the deer is likely to run if started up. These are absolutely sure to hold the deer should the unfortunate animal run into them—a thing which does not happen often.

The Negritos are tireless in the chase. They will hunt all day without eating, unless they happen to run across some wild fruit. Women

frequently take part, especially if dogs are scarce, and they run through the brush yelping to imitate the dogs. But they never carry or use the bows and arrows. This seems to be the especial privilege of the men. Boys from an early age are accustomed to their use and always take part in the hunt, sometimes performing active service with their little bows, but girls never touch them. Not infrequently the runners in the brush emerge carrying wild pigs which they have scared up and killed, and if, by chance, a big snake is encountered, that ends the hunt, for the capture of a python is an event. The snake is killed and carried in triumph to the village, where it furnishes a feast to all the inhabitants.

This sketch of hunting would not be complete without mention of a necessary feature of every successful hunt—the division of the spoils. When the hunt is ended the game is carried back to the village before the division is made, provided the hunters are all from the same place. If two or more villages have hunted together the game is divided in the field. A bed of green rushes or cane is made on which the animal is placed and skinned. This done, the head man of the party, or the most important man present, takes a small part of the entrails or heart, cuts it into fine bits and scatters the pieces in all directions, at the same time chanting in a monotone a few words which mean "Spirits, we thank you for this successful hunt. Here is your share of the spoils." This is done to feed and appease the spirits which the Negritos believe inhabit all places, and the ceremony is never neglected. Then the cutting up and division of the body of the animal takes place. The head and breast go to the man who first wounded the deer, and, if the shot was fatal, he also receives the backbone—this always goes to the man who fired the fatal shot. One hind quarter goes to the owner of the dog which scared up the deer, and the rest is divided as evenly as possible among the other hunters. Every part is utilized. The Negritos waste nothing that could possibly serve as food. The two hunts I accompanied were conducted in the manner I have related, and I was assured that this was the invariable procedure.

The mountain streams of the Negrito's habitat do not furnish many fish, but the Negrito labors assiduously to catch what he can. In the larger streams he principally employs, after the manner of the Christianized natives, the bamboo weir through which the water can pass but the fish can not. In the small streams he builds dams of stones which he covers with banana leaves. Then with bow and arrow he shoots the fish in the clear pool thus formed. Not infrequently the entire course of a creek will be changed. A dam is first made below in order to stop the passage of the fish, and after a time the stream is dammed at some point above in such a way as to change the current. Then, as the water slowly runs out of the part thus cut off, any fish remaining are easily caught.

CHAPTER V

AMUSEMENTS

GAMES

A gambling game was the only thing observed among the Negritos of Zambales which had the slightest resemblance to a game. Even the children, who are playful enough at times, find other means of amusing themselves than by playing a systematic game recognized as such and having a distinct name. However, they take up the business of life, the quest for food, at too early an age to allow time to hang heavy, and hence never feel the need of games. Probably the fascination of bow and arrow and the desire to kill something furnish diversion enough for the boys, and the girls, so far as I could see, never play at all.

The game of dice, called "sa'-ro," is universal. Instead of the familiar dots the marks on the small wooden cubes are incised lines made with a knife. These lines follow no set pattern. One pair of

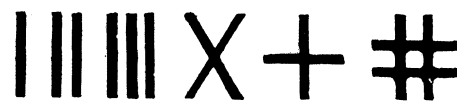


FIG. 2.—Marks on dice used by Negritos.

dice which I observed were marked as shown in fig. 2. The player has five chances, and if he can pair the dice one time out of five he wins, otherwise he loses. Only small objects, such as camotes, rough-made cigars, or tobacco leaves, are so wagered. A peculiar feature of the game is the manner in which the dice are thrown. The movement of the arm is an inward sweep, which is continued after the dice leave the hand, until the hand strikes the breast a resounding whack; at the same time the player utters a sharp cry much after the manner of the familiar negro "crap shooter." The Negritos do not know where they got the game, but say that it has been handed down by their ancestors. It might be thought that the presence of a negro regiment in the province has had something to do with it, but I was assured by a number of Filipinos who have long been familiar with the customs of the Negritos that they have had this game from the first acquaintance of the Filipinos with them.

MUSIC

In their love for music and their skill in dancing Negritos betray other striking Negroid characteristics. Their music is still of the most primitive type, and their instruments are crude. But if their notes are few no fault can be found with the rhythm, the chief requisite for an accompaniment to a dance. Their instruments are various. The simple jew's-harp cut from a piece of bamboo and the four-holed flutes (called "ban'-sic") made of mountain cane (figs. 6, 7, Pl. XLVI) are very common but do not rise to the dignity of dance instruments. Rarely a bronze gong (fig. 1, Pl. XLVI), probably of Chinese make, has made its way into Negrito hands and is highly prized, but these are not numerous—in fact, none was seen in the northern region, but in southern Zambales and Bataan they are occasionally used in dances. The most common instrument is the bamboo violin. (Fig. 2, Pl. XLVI.) It is easy to make, for the materials are ready at hand. A section of bamboo with a joint at each end and a couple of holes cut in one side furnishes the body. A rude neck with pegs is fastened to one end and three abacá strings of different sizes are attached. Then with a small bow of abacá fiber the instrument is ready for use. No attempt was made to write down the music which was evolved from this instrument. It consisted merely in the constant repetition of four notes, the only variation being an occasional change of key, but it was performed in excellent time.

Rude guitars are occasionally found among the Negritos. They are made of two pieces of wood; one is hollowed out and has a neck carved at one end, and a flat piece is glued to this with gum. These instruments have six strings. If a string breaks or becomes useless it is only a question of cutting down a banana stalk and stripping it for a new one. These guitars and violins are by no means common, though nearly every village possesses one. The ability to play is regarded as an accomplishment. A stringed instrument still more primitive is made from a single section of bamboo, from which two or three fine strips of outer bark are split away in the center but are still attached at the ends. These strips are of different lengths and are held apart from the body and made tight with little wedges. (Figs. 4, 5, Pl. XLVI.) Another instrument is made by stretching fiber strings over bamboo tubes, different tensions producing different tones. (Figs. 8, 9, Pl. XLVI.) These simpler instruments are the product of the Negrito's own brain, but they have probably borrowed the idea of stringed violins and guitars from the Christianized natives.

The Negritos of the entire territory have but two songs, at least so they affirmed, and two were all I heard. Strange as it may seem, at least one of these is found at both the extreme ends of the region. An extended acquaintance with them might, and probably would, reveal

more songs, but they are reluctant to sing before white men. One of these songs, called "du-nu-ra," is a kind of love song. Owing to the extreme embarrassment of the performer I was able to hear it only by going into my tent where I could not see the singer. It consisted of a great many verses—was interminable, in fact.

The second of the two songs was called "tal-bun'." This is sung on festive occasions, especially when visitors come. The words are improvised to suit the occasion, but the tune and the manner of rendering never vary.

Five or six men, each holding with one hand the flowing end of the breechcloth of the one in front or with the hand on his shoulder and the other hand shading the mouth, walk slowly about a circle in a crouching posture, their eyes always cast on the ground. Presently the leader strikes a note, which he holds as long as possible and which the others take up as soon as he has sounded it. This is kept up a few minutes, different tones being so sounded and drawn out as long as the performers have breath. The movement becomes more rapid until it is nearly a run, when the performers stop abruptly, back a few steps, and proceed as before. After they have about exhausted the gamut of long-drawn "O's" they sing the words, usually a plea for some favor or gift, being first sung by the leader and repeated after him by the chorus. I did not get the native words of the song I heard, but it was translated to me as follows:

We are singing to the American to show him what we can do; perhaps if we sing well he will give us some rice or some cloth.

The words are repeated over and over, with only the variation of raising or lowering the tone. At intervals all the performers stop and yell at the top of their voices. Sometimes a person on the outside of the circle will take up the strain on a long-held note of the singers. This song also serves for festive occasions, such as weddings. (See Pl. XLVII.)

DANCING

Dancing forms the chief amusement of the Negritos and allows an outlet for their naturally exuberant spirits. I had no more than set up camp near the first rancheria I visited than I was entertained by dancing. Among the Negritos helping me was one with an old violin, and as soon as a place was cleared of brush and the tent was up he struck up a tune. Whereupon two or three youngsters jumped out and performed a good imitation of a buck-and-wing dance. However, dancing is not generally indulged in by everybody, but two or three in every rancheria are especially adept at it. Aside from the general dances, called "ta-li'-pi," which consist of a series of heel-and-toe movements in excellent time to the music of violin or guitar, and

which are performed on any occasion such as the setting up of my tent, there are several mimetic dances having a special character or meaning. Such are the potato dance, the bee dance, the torture dance, the lover's dance, and the duel dance. (See Pls. XLVIII, XLIX.)

THE POTATO DANCE, OR PIÑA CAMOTE

Only one person takes part in the potato dance. At first the performer leaps into the open space and dances around in a circle, clapping his hands as if warming up, the usual preliminary to all the dances. Presently in pantomime he finds a potato patch, and goes through the various motions of digging the potatoes, putting them in a sack, and throwing the sack over his shoulder, all the time keeping close watch to prevent his being caught in the act of stealing. He comes to the brush fence which surrounds every "cainġin," draws his bolo, cuts his way through, and proceeds until he comes to a river. This is significant as showing that the potato patch he is robbing does not belong to anyone in his own village but is across a river which he must pass on his way home. He sounds for deep water with a stick. It is too deep, and he tries another place. Here he loses his footing, drops his sack, and the swift current carries it beyond his reach. While going through the various motions necessary to depict these actions the movement of the dance is kept up, the body bent forward in a crouching position, the feet leaving the ground alternately in rapid motion but never out of time with the music. Such agility and tirelessness one could scarcely find anywhere else.

THE BEE DANCE, OR PIÑA PA-NI-LAN

This dance is also performed by one person and in a similar manner as the potato dance. A piece of cloth tied to a pole serves as a nest of bees. The performer dances around the circle several times; presently he spies the nest and approaches slowly, shading his eyes for a better view. Having satisfied himself that he has really made a find, he lights a smudge, goes through the motion of climbing the tree, and in holding the smudge under the nest he is stung several times and has to retreat. This is repeated until all the bees are smoked out and the honey is gathered. Then comes a feast in which, drunk with honey, he becomes hilarious.

THE TORTURE DANCE

This dance, which commemorates the capture of an enemy, is performed in much the same manner as the "talbun" except that there is no song connected with it. The captive is bound to a stake in the center and a dozen men circle slowly around him, in the same manner as already described, one hand over the mouth and uttering long-drawn notes.

The movement becomes faster and faster until it consists wholly of frenzied leaps, and the performers, worked up to the proper pitch, draw their bolos, close in on their victim, and slash him to pieces.

When executed at night in the light of a bonfire this dance is most grotesque and terrible. The naked black bodies, gleaming in the fire, the blood-curdling yells, and the demoniacal figures of the howling, leaping dancers, remind one of the Indian war dances.

The dance seems to be a relic of more barbarous days when the Negritos were, in truth, savages. They say that they never kill a prisoner in this manner now, but that when they find it necessary to put a man to death they do it in the quickest manner possible with a single blow of the knife. (See Pl. L.)

THE LOVERS' DANCE

As might be expected, a man and a woman take part in the lovers' dance. The women are not such energetic and tireless dancers as the men, and in the lovers' dance the woman, although keeping her feet moving in time to the music, performs in an indolent, passive manner, and does not move from the spot where she begins. But the man circles about her, casting amorous glances, now coming up quite close, and then backing away again, and at times clapping his hands and going through all sorts of evolutions as if to attract the woman. This sort of thing is kept up until one or both are tired.

THE DUEL DANCE

The duel dance is by far the most realistic and interesting of any of the Negrito dances. As the name suggests, the dance is performed by two men, warriors, armed with bows and arrows and bolos. An oblong space about 8 feet in width and 15 feet long serves as an arena for the imaginary conflict. After the musician has got well into his tune the performers jump into either end of the space with a whoop and a flourish of weapons, and go through the characteristic Negrito heel-and-toe movement, all the time casting looks of malignant hate at each other but each keeping well to his end of the ring. Then they advance slowly toward each other, swinging the drawn bow and arrow into play as if to shoot, then, apparently changing their minds or the opportunity not being good for a death shot, they withdraw again to the far ends of the ring. Advancing once more each one throws the drawn bow and arrow upward, then toward the ground, calling heaven and earth to witness his vow to kill the other. Presently one gets a favorable opportunity, his bowstring twangs, and his opponent falls to the ground. The victor utters a cry of triumph, dances up to the body of his fallen foe, and cuts off the head with his bolo. He beckons and cries out to the relatives of the dead man to come and avenge the deed. Nobody

appearing, he bears aloft the head of the enemy, shouting exultingly and triumphantly as if to taunt them to respond. Still no one comes. Then after waiting and listening for a time he replaces the head with the trunk and covers the body over with leaves and dirt. This ends the dance. Ordinarily it requires fifteen minutes for the full performance. During this time the one who by previous arrangement was to be the victor never for a single instant pauses or loses step.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE

THE CHILD

I was unable to learn anything in support of Montano's statement that immediately after the birth of a child the mother rushes to a river with it and plunges into the cold water.¹ On the contrary, the child is not washed at all until it is several days old, and the mother does not go to the stream until at least two days have elapsed. It is customary to bury the placenta. The birth of a child is not made the occasion of any special festivity. The naming is usually done on the day of birth, but it may be done any time within a few days. It is not common for the parents of the child to do the naming, though they may do so, but some of the old people of the tribe generally gather and select the name. Names of trees, objects, animals, places near which the child was born, or of certain qualities and acts or deeds all furnish material from which to select. For instance, if a child is born under a guijo tree he may be called "Guijo;" a monkey may be playing in the tree and the child will be named "Barac" (monkey); or if the birth was during a heavy rain the child may be called "Layos" (flood). Usually the most striking object near at hand is selected. Like most primitive peoples, the Negritos use only one name. If the child is sickly or cries very much, the name is changed, because the Negritos believe that the spirit inhabiting the place where the child was born is displeased at the choice of the name and takes this means of showing its displeasure, and that if the name is not changed the child will soon die.

Apparently no distinction is made between the names for the two sexes. The child may be given the name of the father, to whose name the word "pan," meaning elder, is prefixed for the sake of distinction. For instance, if a man named Manya should have either a son or a daughter the child might be called Manya, and the father would henceforth be known as Pan-Manya. This practice is very common, and when names like Pan-Benandoc, Pan-Turico, and Pan-Palaquan' are

¹ Montano, *Mission aux Philippines*, p. 316.

encountered it may be regarded as a certainty that the owners of these names have children of the same name without the prefix. Although one may change his name at any time of life, if the years of infancy are safely passed, no change is likely to be made.

It is regarded as a sign of disrespect to address elders or superiors by name. The word "pan" alone is frequently used. Relatives are addressed by the term which shows the relationship, as "anac" (son), and names are used only when speaking of persons and seldom if ever when speaking to them.

Parents seem to have great affection for their children, but exact obedience from them. Punishment is inflicted for small offenses, striking with the hand being the usual method. I have never seen a switch used. Sometimes, as in cases of continual crying, the child is severely pinched in the face or neck. Children also exhibit great affection for their parents; this continues through life, as is shown in the care which the aged receive at the hands of their juniors. (See Pls. LI et seq.)

MARRIAGE

Whatever differences there may be in the manner of conducting the preliminaries to a wedding and of performing the ceremony, there is one feature that never varies, the gift of some articles of value from the prospective bridegroom to the parents of the girl he wishes to marry.

With the Negritos a daughter is regarded as an asset of so much value, not to be parted with until that price is paid, and, while she is allowed some freedom in the choice of a husband, parental pressure usually forces her to the highest bidder.

The following is the customary procedure: The young man who wishes to marry and has found a girl to suit him informs his parents of the fact. He has probably already talked the matter over with the girl, though not necessarily so. The affair is discussed in the family of the suitor, the main topic being how much the girl is worth and how much they can afford to pay. Then either the suitor or some relative acting for him goes to the parents of the girl to ask if the suit will be favorably considered. If it will, they return and a few days later go again bearing presents of tobacco, maize, bejuco, knives, cloth, forest products, or anything else they may happen to have. If these gifts are of sufficient value to compensate the father for the loss of his girl, he gives his consent. Value is determined by the attractiveness of a girl and hence the probability of her making a good match, also by her health and strength, as women are good workers on the little farms. If the first gifts do not come up to the demands of the girl's parents the wedding can not take place until the amount lacking is made up. As to the money value of these gifts I have been told different things by Negritos in different villages, the values given ranging from 25 pesos to 500 pesos. As a matter of fact this means

nothing, for the Negrito's idea of value as measured by pesos is extremely vague; but there is no doubt that the gifts made represent almost all the wealth of which a young man and his family can boast.

This system of selling girls, for that is what it amounts to, is carried to an extreme by parents who contract their daughters at an early age to the parents of some boy, and the children are regarded as man and wife, though of course each remains with the parents until the age of puberty is reached. Whether or not the whole payment is made in the beginning or only enough is paid to bind the bargain, I do not know, but I do know that cases of this kind may be met with frequently among the Negritos of Pinatubo, who give as an excuse that the girl is thus protected from being kidnaped by some neighboring tribe, the relatives of the boy making common cause with those of the girl in case anything like this should happen. It seems more likely, however, that the contract is simply a desire on the part of the parents of the girl to come into early possession of the things which are paid for her, and of the parents of the boy to get her cheaper than they could by waiting until she was of marriageable age. This practice is not met with in southern Zambales and Bataan, where marriage does not seem to partake so much of the nature of a sale but where presents are nevertheless made to a girl's parents.

If it happens that there is a young man in the girl's family who is seeking a wife in that of the boy, an even exchange may be made and neither family has to part with any of its possessions. I was told also that in lieu of other articles a young man might give a relative to the bride's family, who was to remain as a sort of slave and work for his master until he was ransomed by payment of the necessary amount; or he might buy a person condemned to death and turn him over at an increased price, or sell children stolen from another barrio. As a bride may be worth as much as 500 pesos and a slave never more than 40 pesos, it would seem necessary to secure several individuals as payment. This was told me more than once and in different villages, but I was unable to find any examples, and am forced to conclude that if it ever was the practice, it is no longer so, at least among the "conquistas." As to the true savages, still lurking in the inmost recesses of the Zambales mountains, I am unable to say. The question of slavery among Negritos is reserved to another chapter.

RICE CEREMONY

All the preliminaries having been satisfactorily attended to, it remains only to perform the ceremony. This proceeding varies in different sections from practically no ceremony at all in the Pinatubo region to a rather complicated performance around Subig and Olongapo. In some of the northern villages, when the matter of payment has been

arranged, a feast and dancing usually follow, in which all the relatives of both families participate, and after this the couple go to their own house. There may be two feasts on succeeding days, one given by the parents of the boy to the relatives of the girl, and vice versa. If only one feast is given both families contribute equally in the matter of food. No single act can be pointed out as constituting a ceremony. In other places, especially at Cabayan and Aglao, near Santa Fé, an exchange of food between the pair is a necessary part of the performance.

A mat is placed on the ground, and in the center is set a dish of cooked rice or some other food. The pair seat themselves on either side of the dish, facing each other, while all the relatives and spectators crowd around. The man takes a small piece of the food and places it in the mouth of the girl, and she does the same for the man. At this happy conclusion of the affair all the people around give a great shout. Sometimes the girl leaps to her feet and runs away pursued by her husband, who calls after her to stop. This she does after a little, and the two return together; or they may take a bamboo tube used for carrying water and set off to the river to bring water for the others to drink, thus performing in unison the first act of labor of their married life.

I was fortunate enough to witness a ceremony where the exchange of food was the important feature. In this instance a piece of brown bread which I was about to throw away served as the wedding cake. It seems that the girl had been contracted by her parents when very young to a man old enough to be her father, and when the time for the wedding arrived she refused to have anything to do with it. For two years she had resisted entreaties and threats, displaying more force of will than one would expect from a Negrito girl of 15. The man had paid a large price for her—200 pesos, he said—and the girl's parents did not have it to return to him. It was suggested that if we made her some presents it might induce her to yield. She was presented with enough cloth for two or three *camisas* and *sayas*, a mirror, and a string of beads, and she finally gave an unwilling assent to the entreaties of her relatives, and the ceremony was performed in the manner already described. At the conclusion a yell went up from the assembly, and I, at the request of the *capitán*, fired three pistol shots into the air. Everybody seemed satisfied except the poor girl, who still wept furtively over her new treasures. Some days later, however, when I saw her she appeared to be reconciled to her fate, and was happy in the possession of more valuables than any other woman in the *rancheria*.

HEAD CEREMONY

In the southern *rancherías* a bamboo platform is erected 20 or 30 feet high, with a ladder leading up to it from the ground. On the day fixed for the marriage the groom, accompanied by his parents, goes



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XXXV. NEGRITO GIRLS OF ZAMBALES, ONE WEARING NECKLACE OF DRIED BERRIES.

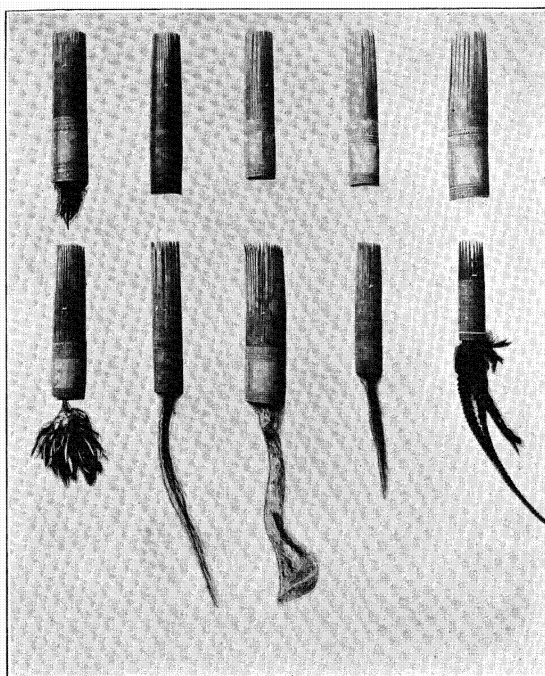


PLATE XXXVI. COMBS USED BY NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES.

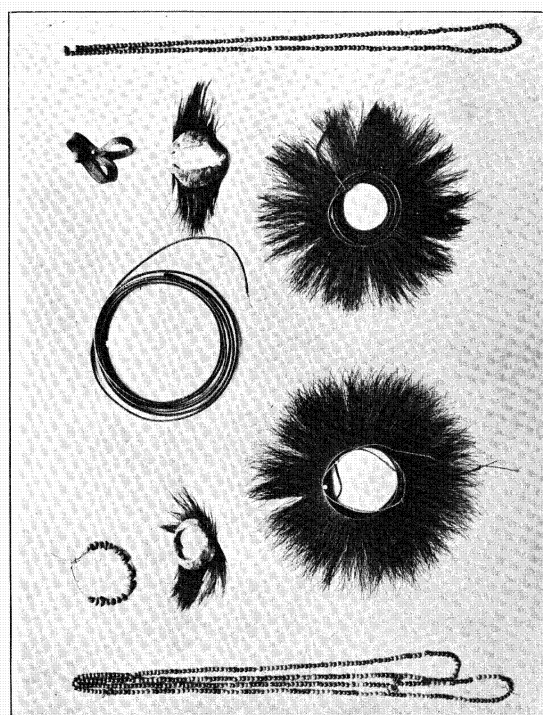


PLATE XXXVII. ORNAMENTS WORN BY NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES.

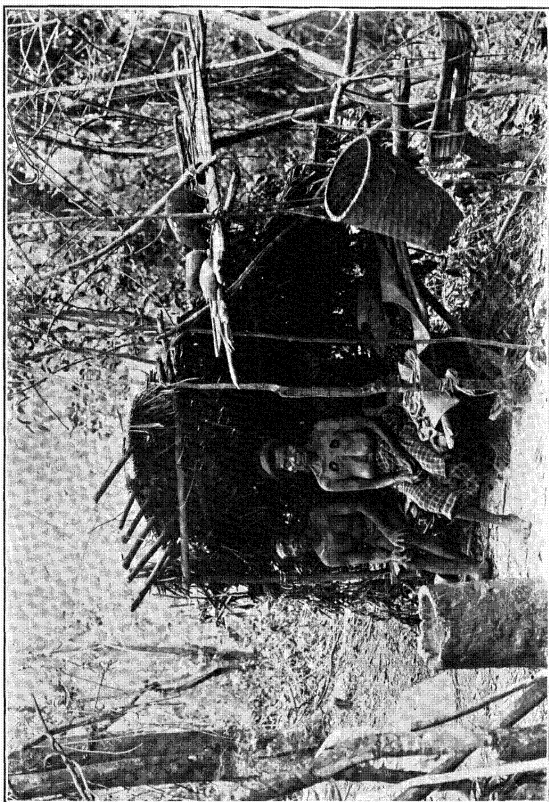


PLATE XXXVIII. NEGRO MAN, WIFE, AND HUT, BATAAN.

Photo by Worcester.

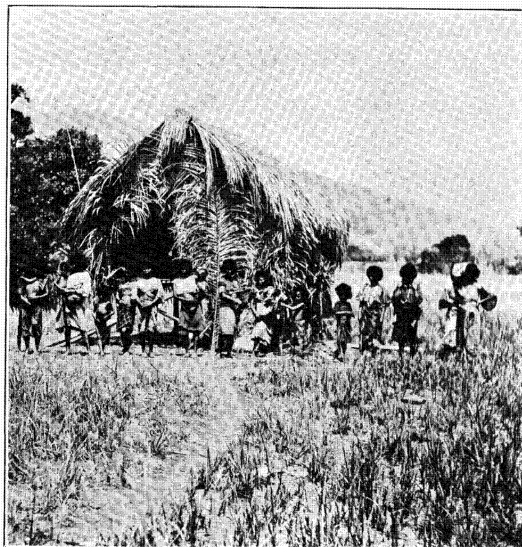


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXXIX. BETTER CLASS OF NEGRITO HUT, ZAMBALES.

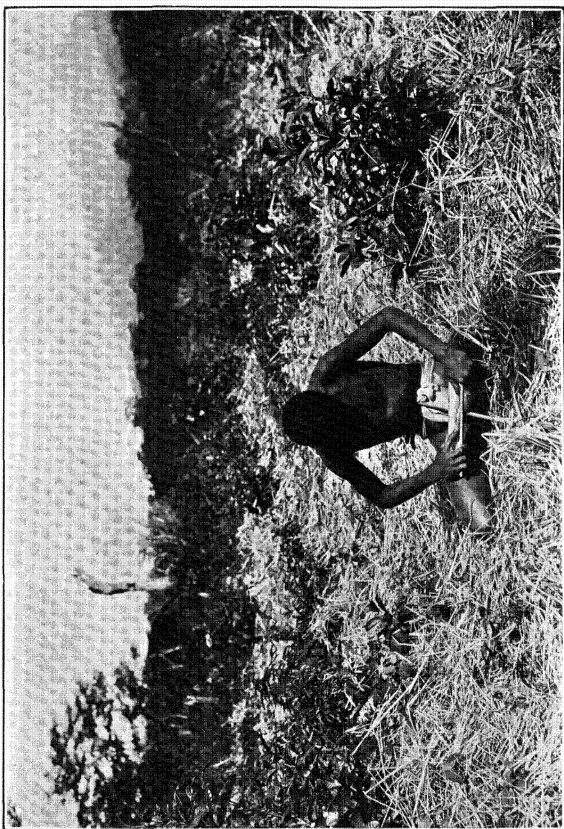


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE XL. NEGRITO MAN OF BATAAN MAKING FIRE WITH BAMBOO.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE XLI. NEGRO MEN OF BATAAN MAKING FIRE WITH BAMBOO.

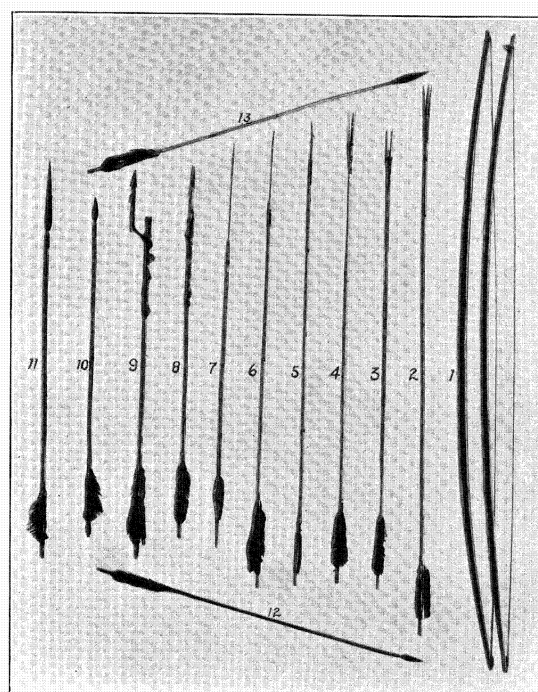


PLATE XLII. BOWS AND ARROWS USED BY NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES.

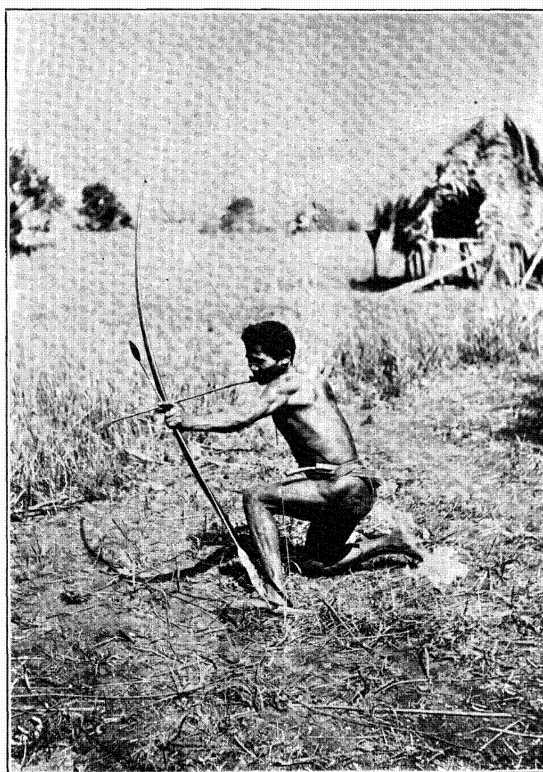


Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XLIII. POSITION TAKEN BY NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES IN SHOOTING.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE XLIV. NEGRITO MAN OF BATAAN DRAWING A BOW; HOG-BRISTLE
ORNAMENTS ON THE LEGS.

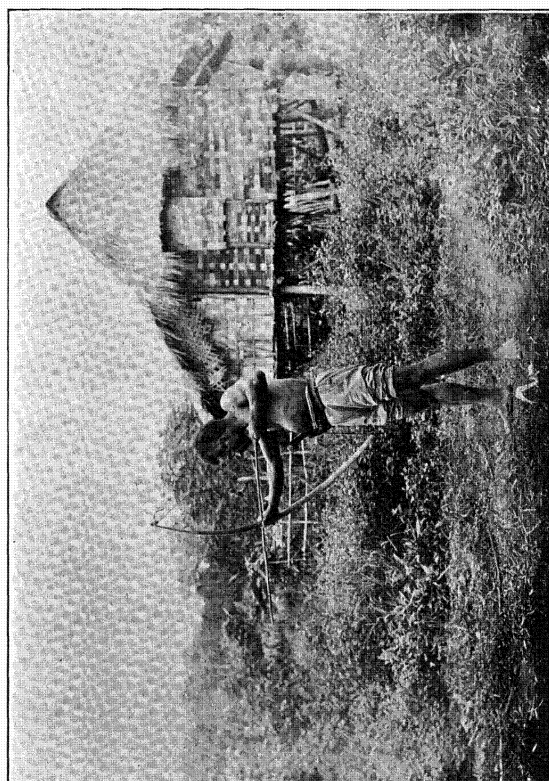


Photo by Reel.

PLATE XLV. NEGRITO MAN OF NEGROS (EMIGRANT FROM PANAY) DRAWING A BOW.

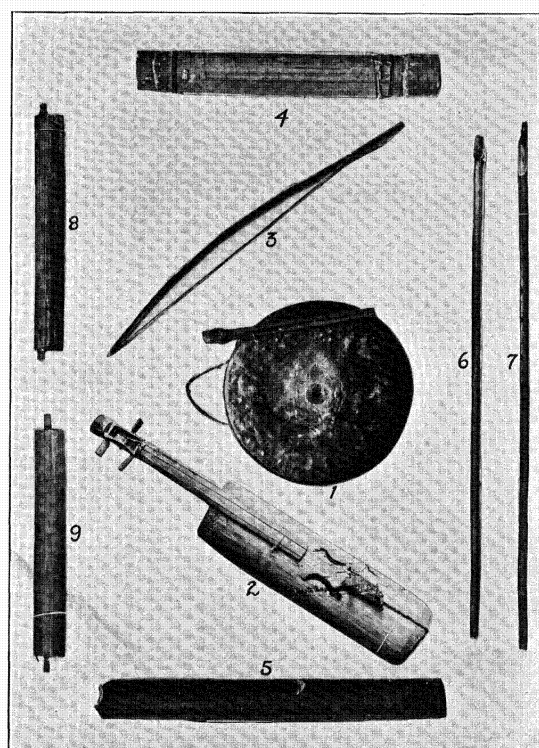


PLATE XLVI. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS USED BY NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES.

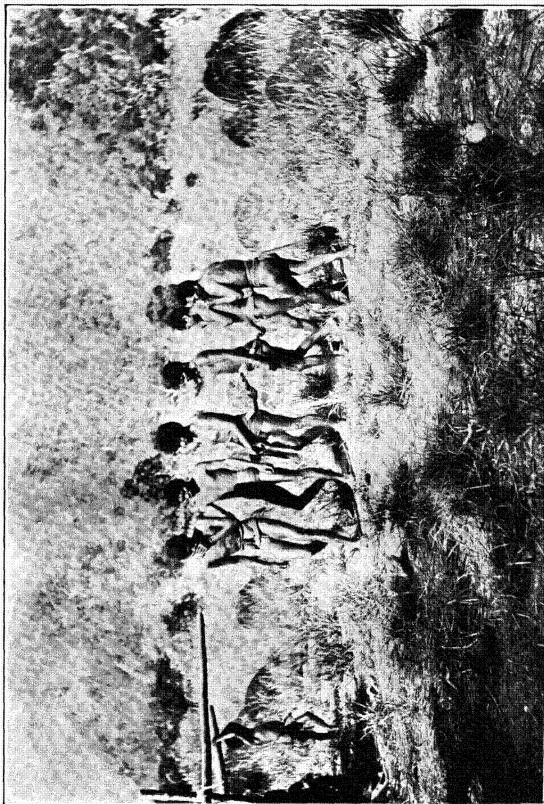


Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XLVII. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES SINGING THE "TALBUN."

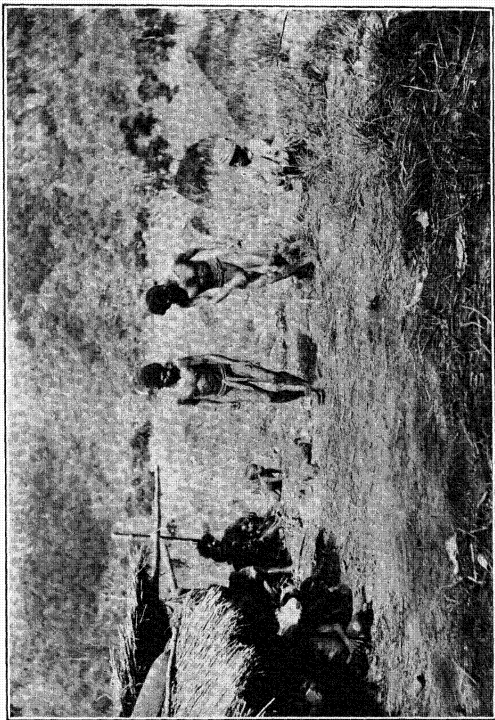


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XLVIII. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES DANCING.

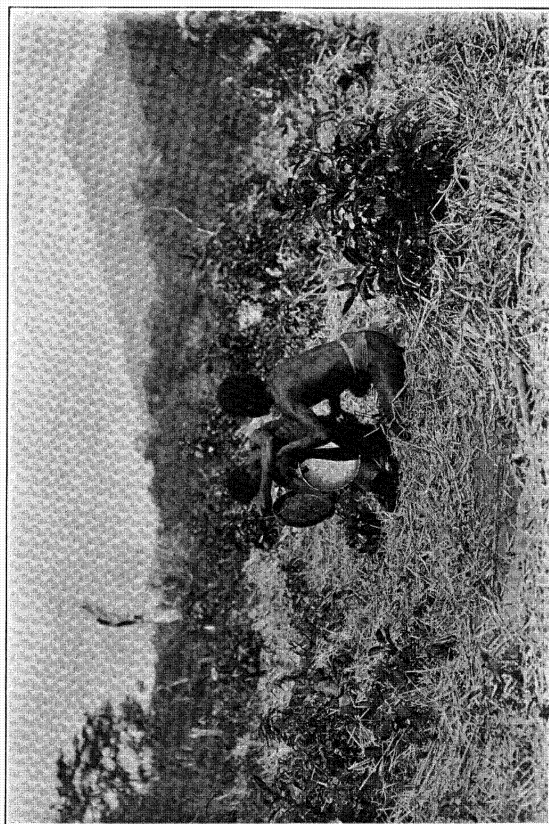


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE XLIX. NEGRO MEN OF BATAAN BEATING GONGS AND DANCING.

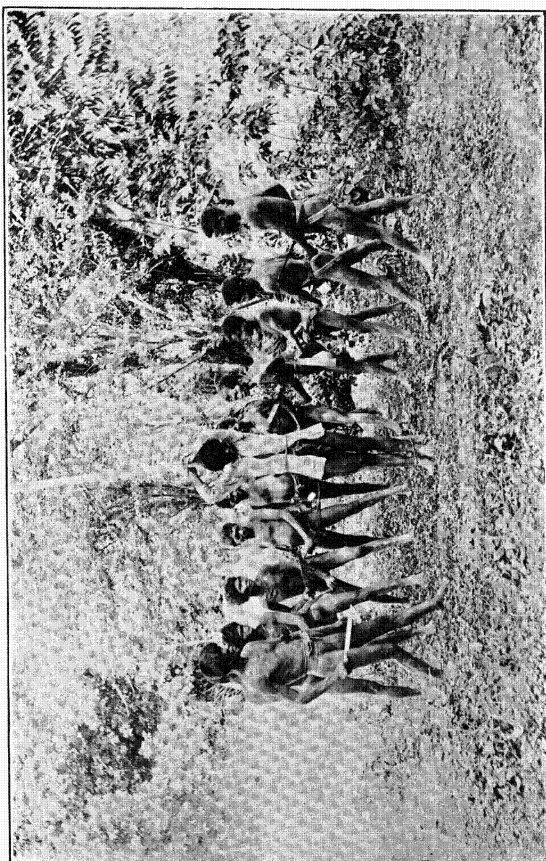


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE L. NEGITOS OF ZAMBALES DANCING THE "TORTURE DANCE."

to the house of the bride and asks for her. They are usually told that she has gone away, but some small gifts are sufficient to have her produced, and the whole party proceeds to the place of marriage. Here bride and groom mount the ladder—some accounts say the bride is carried up by her prospective father-in-law.

An old man of the tribe, and, if the platform be large enough, also the parents of the pair, go up and squat down in the rear. The bride and bridegroom also squat down facing each other, and the old man comes forward and knocks their heads together. I was told at Subig that only the bride and groom mount the platform and seat themselves for a talk, the relatives remaining below facing each other with drawn weapons. If by any chance the pair can not agree, it means a fight. But if they do agree, they descend from the platform and the head bumping completes the ceremony. This is an extremely unlikely story, probably the product of Malayan imagination.

“LEPUT,” OR HOME COMING

After the ceremony has been performed the newly wedded pair return to the home of the girl's parents where they remain a few days. When the husband possesses enough gifts for his bride to fulfill the requirements of the leput that important event takes place.

Although the writer heard repeated accounts of this ceremony in southern Zambales he never had an opportunity to witness it. However, the leput is described as follows by Mr. C. J. Cooke, who saw it in Bataan:¹

The bride had already left the home of her mother and formed the center of a group passing through a grove of heavy timber with very little underbrush. The evening sun cast strange shadows on the weird procession as it moved snake-like along the narrow path.

Occasionally there would be short stops, when the bride would squat to receive some bribes or tokens from her husband, his relatives, or friends. Nor would she move until she received something each time she elected to stop.

Clad in a bright-red breechcloth and extra-high silk hat was the capitán who headed the procession. He carried a silver-headed cane. Next in order came some of the elders of both sexes. Then came the bride attended by four women and closely followed by her husband, who also had a like number of attendants. Last came the main body, all walking in single file. Two musicians were continually executing a running dance from one end of the procession to the other and always keeping time with their crude drums or copper gongs, the noise of which could be heard for miles around. Whenever they passed the bride they would hold the instruments high in the air, leaping and gyrating at their best. When the bride would squat the dancers would even increase their efforts, running a little way to the front and returning to the bride as if endeavoring to induce her to proceed. It did not avail, for she would not move till she received some trinket.

In crossing streams or other obstacles the bride was carried by her father-in-law; the bridegroom was carried by one of his attendants. Presently they

¹ MS. Coll. of The Ethnological Survey.

arrived at a critical spot. This is the place where many a man has to let his wife return to her mother; for here it is the bride wants to see how many presents are coming to her. If satisfied, she goes on. In this case there was a shortage, and everybody became excited. The husband huddled to the side of his bride and looked into her face with a very pitiful expression, as if pleading with her to continue. But she was firm. In a few minutes several people formed a circle and commenced dancing in the same way as at their religious ceremony, and chanting low and solemnly an admonition to the husband's parents and friends to give presents to the bride. This was repeated several times, when there came a lull. The bride was still firm in her opinion that the amount offered was insufficient. I had supplied myself with some cheap jewelry, and a few trinkets satisfied her desires; so the "music" again started. Louder it became—wilder—resounding with a thousand echoes, and as the nude bodies of the Negritos glided at lightning speed from the glare of one torchlight to the other, with no word uttered but a continual clangor of the metal gongs, one thought that here was a dance of devils.

In due time we came to a place in the path that was bordered on either side by small strips of bamboo about 3 feet long with both points sticking in the ground, resembling croquet arches, six on either side. When the bride arrived there she squatted and her maids commenced to robe her in a new gown (*à la Filipina*) over the one she already had on. She then continued to another similar place and donned a new robe over those already on. This was repeated twice, when she arrived at a triumphal arch. There she donned a very gaudy dress consisting of red waist and blue skirt, with a large red handkerchief as a wedding veil.

Rejoicing in her five complete dresses, one over the other, she passed through the arch and again squatted. Meanwhile a fire was built midway between the arch and a structure specially prepared for the couple. All present except those waiting on the groom and bride joined in a dance around the fire, chanting gleefully and keeping time with hands and feet.

All at once the circle divided just in front of the arch; two persons on opposite sides joined hands overhead. The bride now stood up, immediately her father-in-law caught her in his arms, ran under the human arch, and deposited her gently in the house of his son. When the husband, from where he was squatting under the arch, saw his bride safely laid in his house his joy knew no bounds. With a yell he leaped up, swinging his unsheathed bolo over his head, and in a frenzy jumped over the fire, passed through the human arch, and with a final yell threw his arms around his wife in a long embrace.

The ceremony as above described contains many details which I did not meet with in Zambales, but the main feature, the sitting down of the bride to receive her gifts, is the same.

POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE

As might be expected among the Negritos, a man may marry as many wives as he can buy. His inability to provide the necessary things for her purchase argues against his ability to provide food for her. Hence it is only the well-to-do that can afford the luxury of more than one wife. Usually this practice is confined to the capitán or head man of the tribe, and even he seldom has more than two wives, but one case was noticed in the village of Tagilitil, where one man had seven. At Cabayan the capitán had two wives, a curly-haired one and a straight-haired one, the latter the daughter of Filipinos who had taken up

their abode with the Negritos. (See Pl. LV.) Polygamy is allowed throughout the Negrito territory. It is not uncommon for a man to marry sisters or a widow and her daughter. Marriage between blood relatives is prohibited.

Divorce is not very common with the Negritos in Zambales. There seems to be a sentiment against it. If a man is powerful enough he may divorce his wife, but if he does so for any other reason than desertion or unfaithfulness her relatives are likely to make a personal matter of it and cause trouble. A man and his wife may separate by mutual agreement and that of their families. In such a case whatever property they may have is divided equally, but the mother takes the children.

A more frequent occurrence than that, however, is the desertion of her husband by a woman who has found some one of greater attractions elsewhere, probably in another rancheria, but even these cases are rare. If it is possible to reach the offender the new husband will have to pay up, otherwise it is necessary for the woman's parents to pay back to the injured husband all that he has paid for her. But if the offender is caught and is found to be unable to pay the necessary price the penalty is death. In any event the husband's interests are guarded. He can either recover on his investment or get revenge.

BURIAL

Notwithstanding the repeated statements of travelers that Negritos bury their dead under their houses, which are then abandoned, nothing of this kind was met in Zambales, and Mr. Cooke did not see it in Bataan. He says that in the latter province the body is placed in a coffin made by hollowing out a tree, and is buried in some high spot, but there is no regular burying ground. A rude shed and a fence are built to protect the grave.

In Zambales any spot may be selected. The body is wrapped up in a mat and buried at a depth of 3 or 4 feet to protect it from dogs and wild boars. With their few tools such interment constitutes an arduous labor.

I was unable to learn of any special ceremony performed at a burial. Montano says they have one, and Mr. Cooke states that all the relatives of the deceased kneel in a circle around the coffin and sing a mournful monotone. The Negritos of Zambales repeatedly affirmed that they had no burial ceremony.

MORALS

I believe that many of the vices of the Negrito are due to contact with the Malayan to whom he is, at least in point of truthfulness, honesty, and temperance, far superior. It is rare that he will tell a lie unless he thinks he will be greatly benefited by it, and he seems not to indulge

in purposeless lying, as so often do his more civilized neighbors. So far as my acquaintance with him goes, I never detected an untruth except one arising from errors of judgment.

In their dealings with each other there seldom occur disputes among the Negritos, which in itself is an evidence of their natural honesty. With Filipinos, they are inclined to accept and respect the opinions of their more knowing, if less honest, patrons, and take what is offered for their produce with little protest. It is to be feared, however, that as they realize the duplicity of the Filipinos they themselves may begin to practice it.

Alcoholism is unknown among them, but they drink willingly of the native drinks, "tuba" and "anisado," whenever it is offered them. They do not make these beverages. Nowhere does it seem to have gotten a hold on them, and there are no drunkards.

The practice of smoking is followed by Negritos of both sexes, old and young, although they are not such inveterate smokers as are the Filipinos. The custom prevails of smoking roughly made cigars of tobacco leaves tied up with a grass string, always with the lighted end in the mouth. After smoking a few whiffs, the cigar is allowed to go out, and the stump is tucked away in the breechcloth or behind the ear for future use. One of these stumps may be seen somewhere about a Negrito at almost any time. Pipes are never used.

Very few Negritos chew betel nut, and their teeth, although sharpened as they are, offer a pleasing contrast to the betel-stained teeth of the average Filipino.

While one can not speak authoritatively in regard to relation of the sexes without a long and close study of their customs, yet all the evidence at hand goes to show that the Negritos as a race are virtuous, especially when compared with the Christianized natives. Their statement that death is their penalty for adultery is generally accepted as true, and probably is, with some modifications. Montano mentions it twice,¹ and he asserts further in regard to the Negritos of Bataan that "sexual relations outside of marriage are exceedingly rare. A young girl suspected of it must forever renounce the hope of finding a husband."

In Zambales the Negritos continually assert that adultery is punishable by death, but closer questioning usually brought out the fact that the offenders could buy off if they possessed the means. Montano makes the statement that in case of adultery it is the injured husband who executes the death sentence. However, the injured husband is satisfied if he recovers what he paid for his wife in the beginning. In case of a daughter, the father exacts the payment, and only in case he is destitute is it likely to go hard with the offender.

It has been asserted also that theft is punishable by death. The

¹ Voyage aux Philippines, p. 71; Mission aux Philippines, p. 315.

Negritos say that if a man is caught stealing and can not pay the injured person whatever he considers the value of the stolen article and the fine that is assessed against him, he will be put to death. But, as a matter of fact, it is never done. He is given his time in which to pay his fine or someone else may pay it; and in the latter case the offender becomes a sort of slave and works for his benefactor.

Murder is punishable by death. The victim is executed in the manner already described in the torture dance. But murder is so rare as to be almost unknown. The disposition of the Negrito is peaceable and seldom leads him into trouble.

Cooke¹ states that as a punishment for lighter offenses the Negritos of Bataan use an instrument, called "con-de-mán," which is simply a split stick sprung on the neck from six to twenty hours, according to the degree of the crime, and which is said to be very painful. Nothing like this was seen in Zambales.

SLAVERY

Notwithstanding the statements of Montano that the Negritos have no slaves and know nothing of slavery, the reverse is true, in Zambales at least; so say the Negritos and also the Filipinos who have spent several years among them. The word "a-li'-pun" is used among them to express such social condition. As has been stated, a man caught stealing may become a slave, as also may a person captured from another rancheria, a child left without support, a person under death sentence, or a debtor. It was also stated that if a man committed a crime and escaped a relative could be seized as a slave. It will take a long acquaintance with the Negritos and an intimate knowledge of their customs to get at the truth of these statements.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The countenance of the average Negrito is not dull and passive, as might reasonably be expected, but is fairly bright and keen, more so than the average Malayan countenance. The Negrito also has a look of good nature—a look usually lacking in the Malayan. His knowledge of things other than those pertaining to his environment is, of course, extremely limited, but he is possessed of an intellect that is capable of growth under proper conditions. He always manifests the most lively interest in things which he does not understand, and he tries to assign causes for them.

Natural phenomena he is unable to explain. When the sun sets it goes down behind a precipice so far off that he could not walk to it, but he does not know how it gets back to the east. Rain comes from the clouds, but he does not know how it got there except that thunder and lightning bring it. These things are incomprehensible to him and

¹ MS. Coll. of The Ethnological Survey.

he has apparently invented no stories concerning them. While thunder and lightning are good because they bring rain, yet if they are exceedingly violent he becomes afraid and tries to stop them by burning deer's bones, which, he says, are always efficacious.

The mathematical knowledge of the Negritos is naturally small. They count on their fingers and toes, beginning always with the thumb and great toe. If the things they are counting are more than twenty they go through the process again, but never repeat the fingers without first counting the toes. To add they use rice or small stones. They have no weights or measures except those of the civilized natives, but usually compare things to be measured with some known object. Distance is estimated by the time taken to walk it, but they have no conception of hours. It may take from sunrise until the sun is directly overhead to go from a certain rancheria to another, but if asked the number of hours the Negrito is as likely to say three or eight as six. They have no division of time by weeks or months, but have periods corresponding to the phases of the moon, to which they give names. The new moon is called "bay'-un bu'-an," the full moon "da-a'-na bu'-an," and the waning moon "may-a'-mo-a bu'-an." They determine years by the planting or harvesting season. Yet no record of years is kept, and memory seldom goes back beyond the last season. Hence the Negritos have no idea of age. They know that they are old enough to have children or grandchildren, and that is as far as their knowledge of age goes. To count days ahead they tie knots in a string of bejuco and each day cut off one knot.

In regard to units of value they are familiar with the peso and other coins of the Philippines and have vague ideas as to their value. But one meets persistently the word "tael" in their estimate of the value of things. A tael is 5 pesos. If asked how much he paid for his wife a man may say "luampo tael." Where they got this Chinese term I do not attempt to say, unless it points to very remote commercial relations with the Chinese, a thing which seems incredible.¹

The Negritos have developed to a high degree a sense of the dramatic, and they can relate a tale graphically, becoming so interested in their account as to seem to forget their surroundings. For instance, a head man was giving me one night an account of their marriage ceremony. He went through all the motions necessary to depict various actions, talking faster and louder as if warming up to his theme, his eyes sparkling and his face and manner eager.

They are much like children in their curiosity to see the white man's belongings, and are as greatly pleased with the gift of a trinket. Their expressions and actions on beholding themselves in a mirror for the

¹ In the footnote on page 29 is given an extract from Careri's *Voyages*, in which the following occurs: "True it is, that by means of the heathen Chinese who deal with them in the mountains, some deformed statues have been found in their huts."

first time are extremely ludicrous. One man who had a goatee gazed at it and stroked it with feelings of pride and admiration not unmixed with awe.

SUPERSTITIONS

It will also take a close acquaintance to learn much of the superstitious beliefs of the Negritos. Some hints have already been given in regard to feeding the spirits after a hunt and reasons for changing names of children. Other superstitions were mentioned, as the wearing of bracelets and leglets of wild boar's skin and the burning of deer's bones to scare away thunder.

The basis of all the superstitious beliefs of the Negritos, what might else be termed their religion, is the constant presence of the spirits of the dead near where they lived when alive. All places are inhabited by the spirits. All adverse circumstances, sickness, failure of crops, unsuccessful hunts, are attributed to them. So long as things go well the spirits are not so much considered. There seems to be no particular worship or offerings to gain the good will of the spirits, other than the feeding already noted, except in one particular. On the Tarlac trail between O'Donnell (Tarlac Province) and Botolan (Zambales Province) there is a huge black boulder which the Negritos believe to be the home of one powerful spirit. So far as I could learn, the belief is that the spirits of all who die enter this one spirit or "anito" who has its abiding place in this rock. However that may be, no Negrito, and in fact no Christianized native of Zambales or Tarlac, ever passes this rock without leaving a banana, camote, or some other article of food. If they do, bad luck or accident is sure to attend the trip.

Señor Potenciano Lesaca, the present governor of Zambales, when quite young, once passed the rock and for amusement—and greatly to the horror of the Negritos with him—spurned it by kicking it with his foot and eating part of a banana and throwing the rest in the opposite direction. The Negritos were much concerned and said that something would happen to him. Sure enough, before he had gone far he got an arrow through both legs from savage Negritos along the trail who could have known nothing of the occurrence. Of course this only strengthened the belief. There is nothing unusual about the shape of the stone. It is merely a large, round boulder.

Disease is usually considered a punishment for wrongdoing, the more serious diseases coming from the supreme anito, the lesser ones from the lesser anitos. If smallpox visits a rancheria it is because someone has cut down a tree or killed an animal belonging to a spirit which has invoked the aid of the supreme spirit in inflicting a more severe punishment than it can do alone.

For the lesser diseases there are mediquillos or medicine men or women,

called "mañga-anito," who are called to exorcise the spirit creating the disturbance. Anyone who has cured patients or belongs to a family of mediquillos can follow the profession. There is an aversion to being a mediquillo, although it pays, because if a patient dies the medicine man who treated him is held accountable. As a rule they are treated with respect, and people stand more or less in awe of them, but they have sometimes been killed when they failed to effect a cure.

Señor Benito Guido, a native of Botolan, who accompanied me to the barrio of Tagilitil as interpreter, became slightly ill while in a camp. The Negritos were much worked up over it. They said it was caused by cutting the bamboo for our camp, the spirits that owned the bamboo being offended.

In order that we might witness their customs in such cases, an old woman who practiced as "mañga-anito" was called and offered to relieve the patient for a little money. A peso was given her and she began. Upon being asked how he was affected Señor Guido said that he felt as if something was weighing him down. Of course this was the spirit, which had to be removed before a cure could be effected. The mañga-anito danced around the patient and had him dance and turn somersaults. This was to make the spirit sorry he had chosen such an unstable abiding place. Finally she took hold of his hands, gave a mighty tug and then dropped back stiff. The spirit had passed from the body of the patient into her body.

During all these gymnastics the other Negritos had preserved a most solemn mien, but at this juncture they set to work to restore the stricken woman, rubbing and working her arms and legs until the spirit was gone. All disease is caused by spirits, which must be expelled from the body before a cure can be effected.

Use is also made of other remedies to supplement the ministrations of the mañga-anito. Attention has been called to the string of dried berries, called "a-gata," which the Negritos of Pinatubo wear around their necks for convenience in case of pains in the stomach. In southern Zambales what seem to be these same berries are used as a charm against snake bite. Here for pains in the stomach they boil a piece of iron in water and drink the water hot. Pieces of certain woods are believed efficacious for rheumatism, and old men especially may often be seen with them tied around the limbs. This superstition is not far removed from the belief entertained in certain rural districts of the United States that rheumatism may be prevented by carrying a horse chestnut in the pocket. The Negritos also wear such pieces of wood around the neck for colds and sore throat.

In cases of fever a bed is made from the leaves of a plant called "sam'-bon," which much resembles mint, and leaves are bound to the affected parts. The action of these leaves is cooling. For fractures they use bamboo splints and leaves of a plant called "ta-cum'-ba-o."

A bad cut is also bound up in these leaves or with the sap of a tree called "pan-da-ko'-kis."

The Negritos do nothing for skin disease, a form of herpes, with which a great many are afflicted. They probably do not regard it as a disease. (See Pls. LVI et seq.) In case of centipede bites, if on a finger, the affected member is thrust in the anus of a chicken, where, the Negrito affirms, the poison is absorbed, resulting in the death of the chicken.

Goiter is quite common. It is said to be caused by strain from carrying a heavy load of camotes or other objects on the head.

Smallpox, as has been said, is believed to be a visitation of the wrath of the supreme spirit, and if it breaks out in a rancheria the victim is left with a supply of food and water and the place is abandoned. After several days have elapsed the people return cautiously, and if they find the patient is dead they go away again never to return, but if he has recovered they take up their abode in the rancheria. A great many of the Negritos seen in Zambales have scars of smallpox.

The practice of blistering the body in case of sickness is very common in the Pinatubo region. The belief prevails with some individuals that in the healing up of the sore thus produced the sickness with which the body is afflicted will go away. Others affirmed that blistering was done only in case of fevers, and that the pain inflicted caused the patient to break out in a profuse perspiration which relieved the fever. This seems a more rational belief. Individuals were seen with as many as twenty scars produced in this manner.

Aside from the anito belief, the Negritos have other superstitions. Cries of birds at night are especially unlucky. If a person is starting out on a journey and someone sneezes just as he is leaving he will not go then. It is regarded as a sign of disaster, and delay of an hour or so is necessary in order to allow the spell to work off.

A certain parasitic plant that much resembles yellow moss and grows high up in trees is regarded as a very powerful charm. It is called "gay-u-ma" and a man who possesses it is called "nanara gayuma." If his eyes rest on a person during the new moon he will become sick at the stomach, but he can cure the sickness by laying hands on the afflicted part.

Señor Benito Guido says that when a young man he was told by Negritos that this charm would float upstream. And when he offered to give a carabao for it if that were so, its power was not shown. In spite of this, however, the Negritos are firm believers in it, and, for that matter, so also are the Christianized Zambal and Tagalog. It is likewise thought to be of value in attracting women. If it is rubbed on a woman or is smoked and the smoke blows on her the conquest is complete.

CHAPTER VII

SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE NEGRITOS

The attention of the Spanish Government was early attracted to the Negritos and other savages in the Philippines, and their subjection and conversion was the subject of many royal orders, though unfortunately little was accomplished. One of the first decrees of the Gobierno Superior relating especially to the Negritos was that of June 12, 1846. It runs substantially as follows:

In my visits to the provinces of these Islands, having noticed, with the sympathy that they must inspire in all sensitive souls, the kind of life and the privations that many of the infidel tribes, and especially the Negritos who inhabit the mountains, are forced to endure; and persuaded that it is a duty of all civilized Governments and of humanity itself to better the condition of men, who, hidden thus from society, will in time become extinct, victims of their customs, of the unhealthfulness of the rugged places where they live, and of our negligence in helping them; and desirous of making them useful, that some day, influenced by the benefits of social life, they may enter the consoling pale of our Holy Mother, the Catholic Church, I hereby decree the following:

ARTICLE 1. The alcaldes and military and political governors of provinces in whose district there may be tribes or rancherías of the aforesaid Negritos or of other infidels shall proceed with the consent of the devoted *curas parrocos*, whose charity I implore for them, through their head men or capitanes, to induce them to take the necessary steps to assemble in villages, lands being given for that purpose, in places not very near to Christian pueblos, and seeds of grains and vegetables being furnished that they may cultivate the land.

* * * * *

ART. 3. Two years after the pueblo shall have been formed the inhabitants thereof shall pay a moderate tribute, which shall not for the present exceed one real per head, the youths and children being excepted, obtaining in compensation the usufruct of the lands which they may hold as their own property so long as they do not abandon the cultivation, being able to sell to others under the same conditions with the knowledge of the authority of the district.

ART. 4. Said authorities and also the priests shall maintain the greatest zeal and vigilance that the Christian pueblos do not intrude on those of the infidels or Negritos, neither that individuals live among them nor that they harass or molest them on any pretext whatsoever under penalty of being punished. * * *

ART. 5. As I have understood that if the Negritos refuse social life it is on account of their being warned by the Christians who employ them in cutting wood, bamboo, and bejuco, and in the collection of other products of the woods

which they inhabit, the chiefs of the provinces and the justices of the peace shall take care that no one enters into such contracts with the Negritos without competent authorization, leaving his name in a register in order that if he fail to pay the true value of the articles satisfactory to the Negritos or mistreats them it will be possible to fix the blame on him and to impose the proper penalty.

Article 6 states that—

It shall not be necessary for the Negritos to embrace the Catholic faith, but the priests shall go among them to examine their condition and learn their needs and teach them the advantages of civil life and the importance of religion.

Article 7 provides for a report every three months from those officers in charge of such districts.

This all sounds very well, and if carried out might have succeeded in improving the condition of the unfortunate Negritos, but we can not find that the provincial officials showed great zeal in complying with the executive request.

On January 14, 1881, a decree very similar to this was issued. The first part of this decree related to the newly converted or "sometidos." But article 7 authorized the provincial authorities to offer in the name of the State to Aetas and other pagans the following advantages in exchange for voluntary submission: Life in pueblos; unity of families; concession of good lands and direction in cultivating them in the manner which they wished and which would be most productive; maintenance and clothing during one year; respect for their usages and customs so far as they did not oppose the natural law; to leave to their own wishes whether or not they should become Christians; to buy or facilitate the sale of their crops; exemption from contributions and tributes for ten years; and lastly, government by local officials elected by themselves under the direct dependency of the head of the province or district.

These provisions were certainly liberal enough, but they bore little fruit so far as the Negritos were concerned. Being sent out as circulars to the chiefs of all provinces, such decrees received scant attention, each provincial head probably preferring to believe that they were meant for someone else. Although it sounded well on paper, the difficulties in the way of successful compliance with such an order were many. But in one way and another the authorities sought to reach the hill tribes, though it must be confessed they were actuated rather by a desire to preserve peace in their provinces and to protect the plainsmen from the plundering raids of the savages than by motives of philanthropy in improving the condition of the latter.

The Negritos of Zambales were classed as conquistados and non-conquistados, according to whether they lived in amicable relations with the Filipinos or stole carabaos and killed the people whenever they had the opportunity. The Guardia Civil made many raids into the mountains for the purpose of punishing the predatory Negritos, and many

are the stories related by old members of that military organization now living in the province concerning conflicts which they had with the little black bow-and-arrow men, who always got the worst of it. Gradually they came to see the futility of resistance. As a matter of fact these raids were only for the purpose of securing food and not because of enmity toward the Filipinos. When a group expressed their desire to live peaceably in their hills they were dubbed "conquistados" and left alone so long as they behaved. The number of conquistados grew and the "unconquered" retreated farther into the mountains. Carabao raids are very infrequent now, for the people disposed to make them are too remote from the plains and would have to pass through territory of the settled and peaceable Negritos, who would inform the party sent in pursuit. But the Constabulary has had two or three raids of this kind to deal with during the past two years.

Those Negritos still living in a wild state have very simple government. They simply gather around the most powerful man, whom they recognize as a sort of chief and whom they follow into raids on the plains or neighboring tribes of Negritos. But when living peaceably scattered through their mountains each head of a family is a small autocrat and rules his family and those of his sons who elect to remain with him. When he dies the oldest son becomes the head of the family. Usually, however, a group of families living in one locality recognizes one man as a capitán. He may be chosen by the president of the nearest pueblo or by the Negritos themselves, who are quick to recognize in this way superior ability or greater wealth. The capitán settles disputes between families.

The next step in the civilizing process is the gathering together to form villages. This was the end to which the Spaniards worked, but the process was retarded by the Christianized natives who profited by trade with the Negritos in forest products and who advised them to avoid coming under Spanish rule where they would have to pay tribute. If a community became sufficiently large and bade fair to be permanent it was made a barrio of the nearest pueblo and given a teniente and concejales like other barrios. This was the case with Aglao and Santa Fé, in the jurisdiction of San Marcelino, but Ilokano immigrants settled in these places and the Negritos gradually withdrew to the hills and settled in other places, until now there are very few Negritos actually living in these towns. One old man in Aglao, who once went to Spain as a servant to an officer, speaks very good Spanish.

In spite of the reprisals made by the Guardia Civil and other means employed by the Spaniards, Negrito raids went on without much cessation until 1894. In that year the authorities induced a head man named Layos to come down to the town of San Marcelino for an interview. Layos came down about as nature had provided him and was

received with much ceremony by the town authorities. They dressed him up from head to foot, made him presents, and feasted him for several days. Then with the customary Spanish pomp, parade of soldiery, and flare of trumpets, they presented him with a gaudy sash and named him Capitán General del Monte. He was given charge of all the Negritos in the district and charged to keep them under control. The sash was a cheap print affair, but it answered the purpose. The effect of all this on an untamed savage can be imagined. Layos was impressed. He went back to the hills with his new treasures and an experience worth relating. It is said that the robbing and killing of Christian natives lessened materially after that.

When I was at Cabayan in that district I saw Layos. He was a heavy-set man of about 38, harelippped, an old ragged shirt and breechcloth his only apparel, and with nothing of his former grandeur but the memory. The sash, his badge of office, he said had long since gone in breechcloths.

In the same year (1894) all Negritos in the Botolan district who would come down from the mountains were fed for five or six months in hope that they would settle down and remain. But they were given nothing to do and were not shown how to work, and when the feeding stopped they all went back to the hills, the only place where they knew how to secure sustenance. Although this experiment did not result as desired, it probably had good effects, for the people of this region are the farthest advanced to-day and are most inclined to live in villages. I am informed that since my visit some of the Negritos have moved down to the Filipino village of Pombato and there are several Negrito children in the native school. The people of Tagiltil have even expressed a desire for a school. The presence of several Zambal and half-breeds in this village and its nearness to the Filipinos probably account for its being ahead of other villages in this as in other respects.



Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LI. NEGRITO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER, BATAAN.



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE LII. PURE NEGRO WOMAN AND MIXED BLOOD, WITH BABIES, ZAMBIALES.

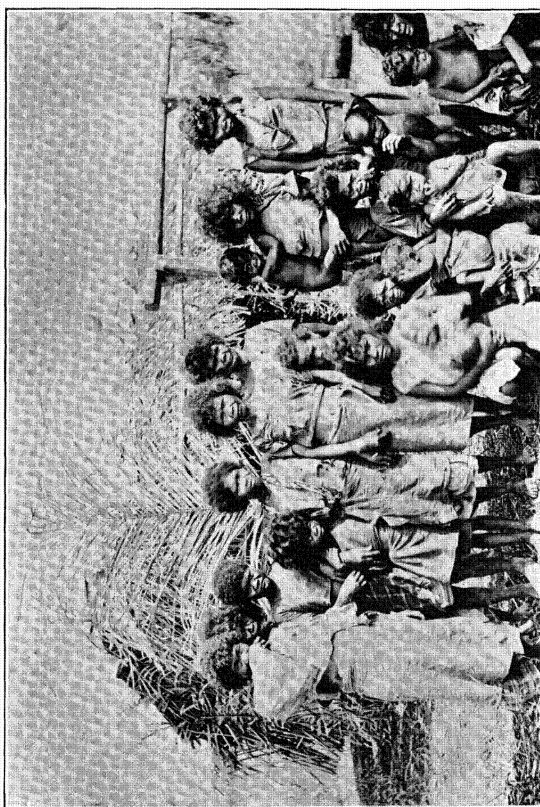


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE LIII. NEGRITO WOMEN AND CHILDREN, ZAMBIALES.

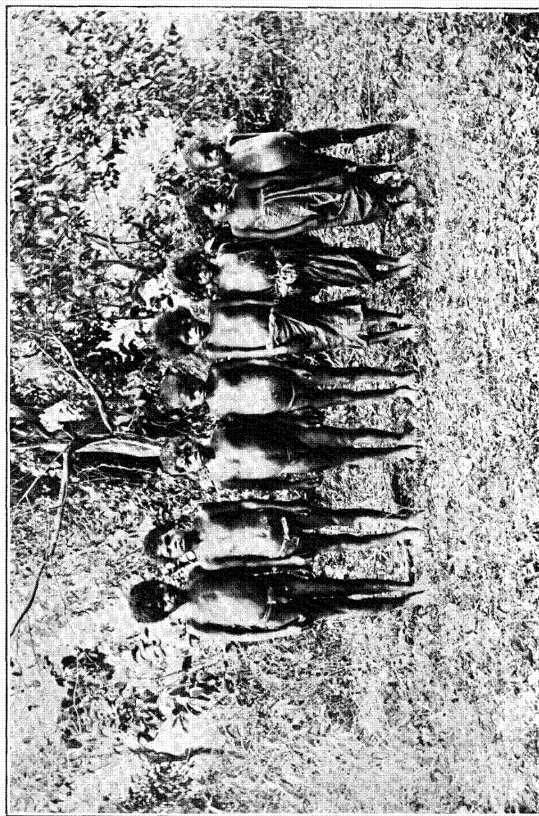


Photo by Diamond.

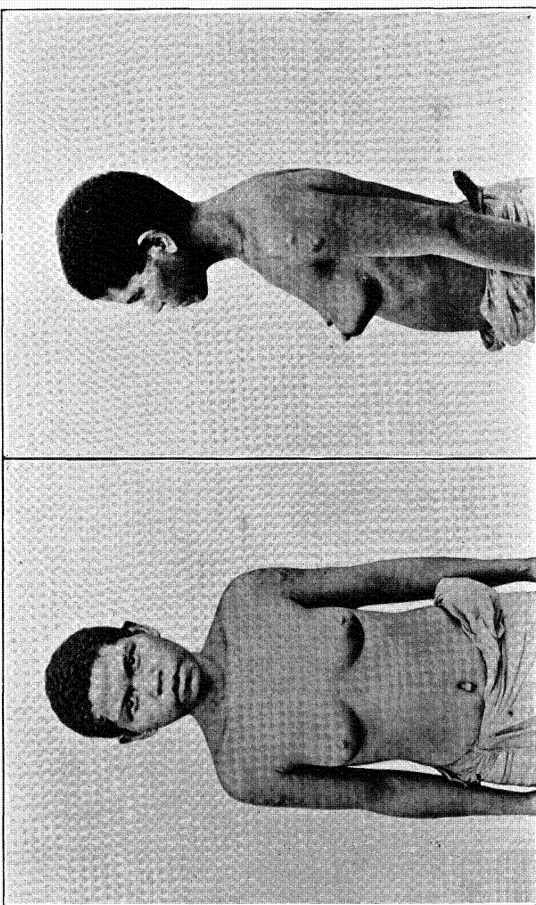
PLATE LIV. NEGRO CHILDREN, SANTA FÉ, ZAMBALES.



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE LV. CAPITÁN OF CABAYAN, ZAMBALES, WITH NEGRITO AND ZAMBAL WIVES.



Photo by Diamond.
PLATE LVI. BOYS OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING SCARS MADE BY BLISTERING FOR FEVERS, ETC.



Photos by Diamond.
PLATE LVII. NEGRO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES, PURE BLOOD, SHOWING SCARS MADE BY BLISTERING FOR FEVERS, ETC.

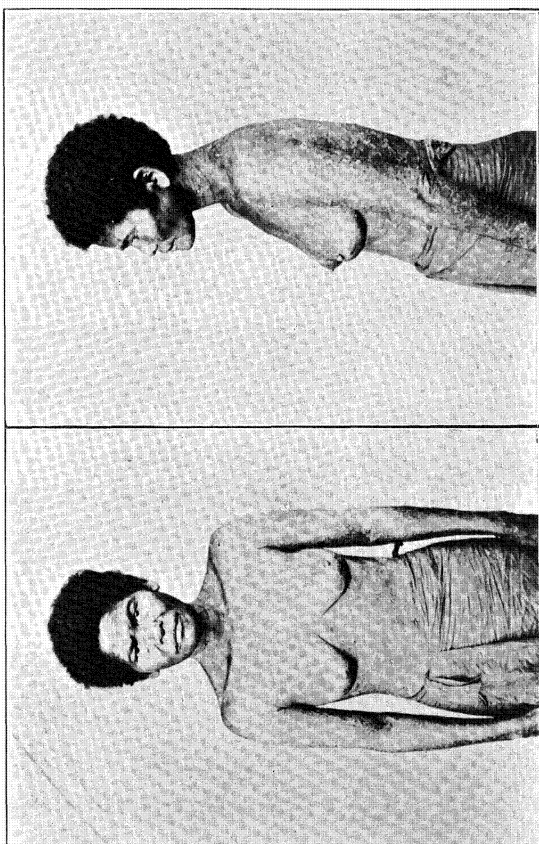
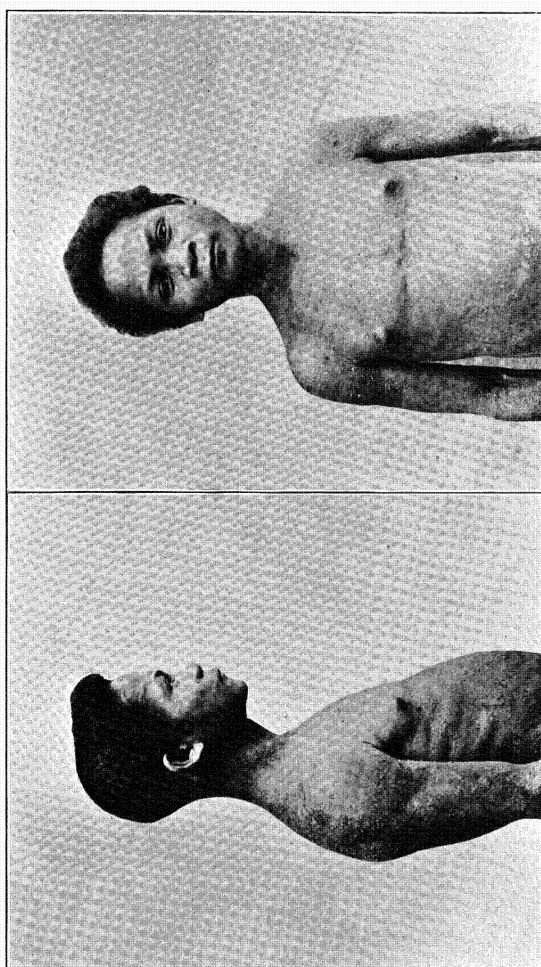
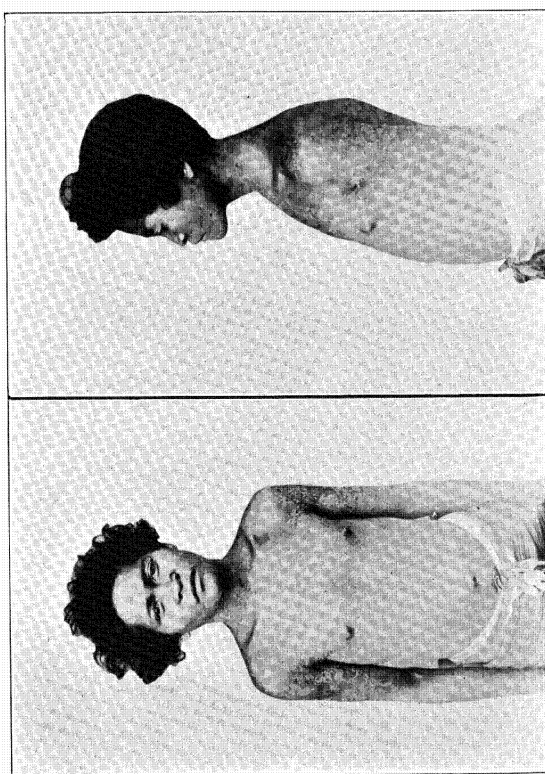


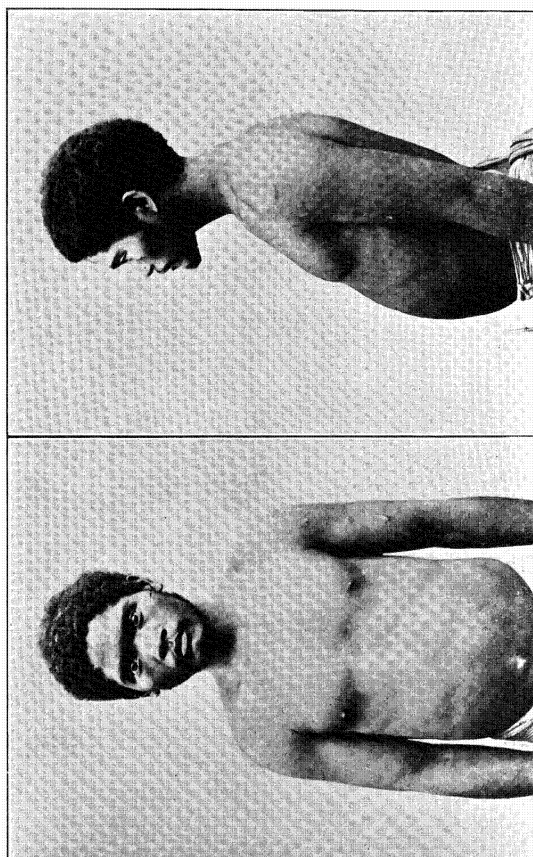
PLATE LVIII. NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES, PURE BLOOD, SHOWING SKIN DISEASE.
Photos by Diamond.



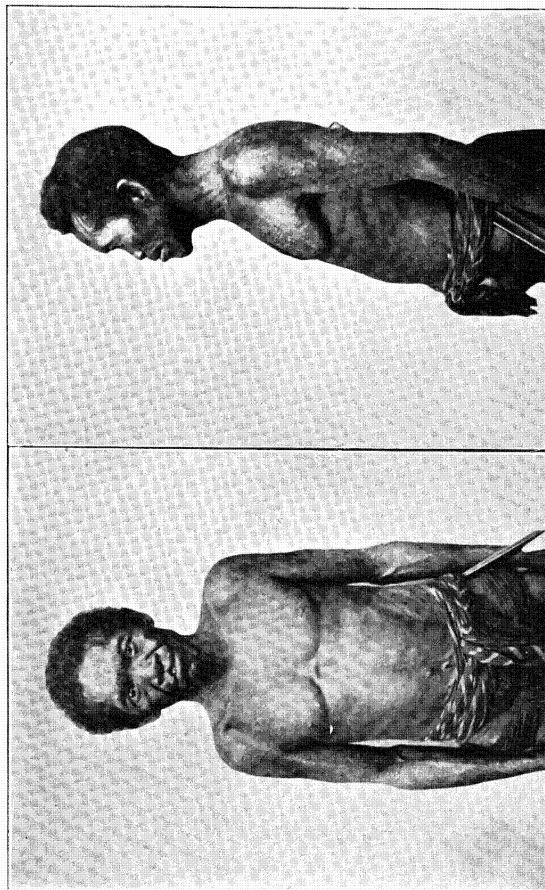
Photos by Diamond.
PLATE LIX. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBIALES, MIXED BLOOD, SHOWING SKIN DISEASE.



Photos by Diamond.
PLATE LX. NEGRITO BOY OF ZAMBALES, MIXED BLOOD, SHOWING SKIN DISEASE.



Photos by Diamond.
PLATE LXI. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBALES, MIXED BLOOD, SHOWING SKIN DISEASE.



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE LXII. "CAPITÁN GENERAL DEL MONTE," NEGRI TO OF ZAMBALES.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

The paucity of measurements has already been explained, but those that were taken are given here for what they are worth. I do not attempt to draw any conclusions from them or undertake any discussion other than that already given in the chapter on physical features.

In the following tables it should be noted that where the age is given the number indicates only an estimate, as no Negrito knows his age. It has been thought better to give these approximate ages than to leave them out entirely, in order to distinguish the very young from the middle aged and old:

Measurements of Negritos

| No. | Sex | Age | Stand- ing height | Span of arms | Length of nose | Breadth of nose | Nasal index | Length of ear |
|-----|--------|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Female | 18 | 1,408 | 1,456 | 35 | 38 | 108 | 57 |
| 2 | do | 35 | 1,487 | 1,487 | 38 | 38 | 100 | 64 |
| 3 | do | 14 | 1,325 | 1,325 | 36 | 30 | 83 | 55 |
| 4 | do | 30 | 1,440 | 1,462 | 36 | 38 | 105 | 55 |
| 5 | do | 40 | 1,388 | 1,400 | 40 | 43 | 107 | 58 |
| 6 | Male | 27 | 1,520 | 1,580 | 41 | 43 | 104 | 60 |
| 7 | do | 20 | 1,491 | 1,503 | 39 | 47 | 130 | 57 |
| 8 | do | | 1,440 | 1,464 | 40 | 43 | 107 | 57 |
| 9 | do | | 1,500 | 1,538 | 43 | 40 | 93 | 60 |
| 10 | do | 15 | 1,357 | 1,347 | 34 | 40 | 117 | 54 |
| 11 | do | | 1,426 | 1,483 | 40 | 47 | 117 | 57 |
| 12 | Female | 20 | 1,390 | 1,380 | 30 | 37 | 123 | |
| 13 | do | 19 | 1,265 | 1,170 | 35 | 35 | 100 | |
| 14 | do | 20 | 1,400 | 1,410 | 35 | 40 | 114 | |
| 15 | do | | 1,410 | 1,375 | 35 | 42 | 120 | |
| 16 | do | | 1,430 | 1,435 | 35 | 40 | 114 | |
| 17 | Male | 22 | 1,465 | 1,485 | 37 | 46 | 124 | 60 |
| 18 | do | | 1,472 | 1,470 | 44 | 40 | 90 | 60 |
| 19 | do | 24 | 1,363 | 1,404 | 38 | 36 | 94 | 57 |
| 20 | do | 18 | 1,473 | 1,493 | 40 | 43 | 107 | 57 |
| 21 | do | 19 | 1,390 | 1,412 | 40 | 42 | 105 | 56 |
| 22 | do | 25 | 1,490 | 1,490 | 37 | 43 | 116 | 57 |
| 23 | do | 14 | 1,282 | 1,315 | 35 | 35 | 100 | 52 |
| 24 | do | | 1,404 | 1,438 | 42 | 38 | 90 | 65 |

Measurements of Negritos—Continued

| No. | Sex | Age | Stand- ing height | Span of arms | Length of nose | Breadth of nose | Nasal index | Length of ear |
|-----|--------|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 25 | Female | 19 | 1,302 | 1,313 | 27 | 38 | 140 | 55 |
| 26 | do | 20 | 1,472 | 1,538 | 40 | 38 | 95 | 58 |
| 27 | Male | | 1,434 | 1,497 | 37 | 42 | 113 | 56 |
| 28 | do | 50 | 1,421 | 1,519 | 40 | 40 | 100 | 60 |
| 29 | Female | 28 | 1,358 | 1,418 | 35 | 37 | 105 | 58 |
| 30 | do | 55 | 1,333 | 1,350 | 40 | 40 | 100 | 60 |
| 31 | do | | 1,383 | 1,435 | 41 | 38 | 92 | 62 |
| 32 | do | 30 | 1,285 | 1,285 | 34 | 38 | 111 | 55 |
| 33 | do | 50 | 1,318 | 1,302 | 35 | 40 | 114 | 69 |
| 34 | Male | 40 | 1,342 | 1,448 | 38 | 46 | 121 | 62 |
| 35 | do | 20 | 1,458 | 1,532 | 40 | 42 | 105 | 58 |
| 36 | do | 18 | 1,480 | 1,536 | 44 | 44 | 100 | 60 |
| 37 | do | 15 | 1,500 | 1,547 | 41 | 45 | 109 | 60 |
| 38 | do | 28 | 1,365 | 1,390 | 41 | 49 | 119 | 58 |
| 39 | do | 30 | 1,535 | 1,570 | 43 | 47 | 109 | 63 |
| 40 | Female | 15 | 1,308 | 1,354 | 41 | 35 | 85 | 54 |
| 41 | do | 35 | 1,373 | 1,368 | 36 | 38 | 105 | 59 |
| 42 | do | 35 | 1,355 | 1,370 | 40 | 40 | 100 | 60 |
| 43 | do | 16 | 1,407 | 1,430 | 36 | 36 | 100 | 56 |
| 44 | do | 22 | 1,420 | 1,466 | 40 | 43 | 107 | 64 |
| 45 | Male | | 1,535 | 1,581 | 43 | 39 | 90 | 57 |
| 46 | do | | 1,448 | 1,532 | 41 | 40 | 97 | 55 |
| 47 | do | | 1,476 | 1,540 | 40 | 40 | 100 | 59 |
| 48 | Female | | 1,396 | 1,415 | 40 | 35 | 107 | 60 |
| 49 | do | 20 | 1,368 | 1,400 | 35 | 40 | 117 | 53 |
| 50 | Male | | 1,570 | 1,625 | 46 | 43 | 93 | 58 |
| 51 | do | 22 | 1,480 | 1,545 | 42 | 49 | 116 | 60 |
| 52 | do | 30 | 1,600 | 1,634 | 49 | 42 | 85 | 62 |
| 53 | do | 35 | 1,521 | 1,566 | 42 | 47 | 111 | 60 |
| 54 | Female | | 1,502 | 1,520 | 41 | 39 | 95 | 58 |
| 55 | do | | 1,410 | 1,410 | 32 | 38 | 118 | 60 |
| 56 | do | 16 | 1,316 | 1,336 | 34 | 38 | 111 | 56 |
| 57 | Male | 18 | 1,425 | 1,445 | 42 | 42 | 100 | 56 |
| 58 | do | 23 | 1,380 | 1,430 | 36 | 45 | 125 | 62 |

Measurements of Negritos—Continued

| No. | Sex | Age | Standing height | Height of shoulders | Span of arms | Width of shoulders | Length of hand | Length of arm | Height sitting |
|-----|--------|-----|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 59 | Male | 28 | 1,480 | 1,227 | 1,530 | 375 | 163 | 600 | 1,200 |
| 60 | do | 16 | 1,470 | 1,225 | 1,510 | 370 | 165 | 623 | 1,180 |
| 61 | do | 40 | 1,520 | 1,295 | 1,530 | 356 | 170 | 640 | 1,224 |
| 62 | do | 17 | 1,490 | 1,247 | 1,500 | 425 | 145 | 600 | 1,203 |
| 63 | do | 25 | 1,510 | 1,245 | 1,545 | 386 | 175 | 635 | 1,215 |
| 64 | do | 18 | 1,445 | 1,218 | 1,500 | 350 | 160 | 600 | 1,235 |
| 65 | do | 28 | 1,444 | 1,210 | 1,540 | 350 | 170 | 605 | |
| 66 | do | 30 | 1,524 | 1,275 | 1,620 | 390 | 180 | 675 | |
| 67 | do | 35 | 1,550 | 1,324 | 1,410 | 384 | 180 | 655 | 1,255 |
| 68 | do | 40 | 1,500 | 1,248 | 1,465 | 364 | 180 | 640 | 1,290 |
| 69 | do | 35 | 1,480 | 1,227 | 1,550 | 383 | 175 | 650 | 1,272 |
| 70 | do | 60 | 1,586 | 1,370 | 1,635 | 373 | 177 | 675 | |
| 71 | do | 25 | 1,395 | 1,169 | 1,469 | 342 | 149 | 586 | |
| 72 | Female | 35 | 1,420 | 1,165 | 1,460 | 334 | 159 | 582 | |
| 73 | do | 33 | 1,337 | 1,140 | 1,380 | 293 | 155 | 539 | |
| 74 | do | 27 | 1,362 | 1,137 | 1,407 | 330 | 150 | 558 | |
| 75 | Male | 30 | 1,526 | 1,281 | 1,524 | 370 | 163 | 616 | |
| 76 | do | 17 | 1,435 | 1,197 | 1,447 | 350 | 160 | 586 | |
| 77 | do | 45 | 1,450 | 1,270 | 1,480 | 322 | 162 | 571 | |

| No. | Sex | Age | Length of foot | Length of head | Breadth of head | Cephalic index | Length of nose | Breadth of nose | Nasal index | Length of ear |
|-----|--------|-----|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| 59 | Male | 28 | 215 | 189 | 150 | 79.3 | 38 | 39 | 102.6 | 58 |
| 60 | do | 16 | 230 | 175 | 144 | 82.2 | 35 | 35 | 100 | 55 |
| 61 | do | 40 | 225 | 176 | 145 | 82.3 | 39 | 37 | 94.8 | 61 |
| 62 | do | 17 | 230 | 190 | 153 | 80.5 | 33 | 40 | 121.2 | 51 |
| 63 | do | 25 | 226 | 190 | 150 | 78.9 | 40 | 42 | 165 | 54 |
| 64 | do | 18 | 220 | 175 | 150 | 85.7 | 35 | 37 | 105.7 | 50 |
| 65 | do | 28 | 223 | 176 | 141 | 80 | 47 | 40 | 85.1 | 64 |
| 66 | do | 30 | 245 | 171 | 158 | 92.3 | 40 | 49 | 122.5 | 54 |
| 67 | do | 35 | 240 | 182 | 145 | 79.7 | 40 | 41 | 102.5 | 60 |
| 68 | do | 40 | 245 | 174 | 145 | 83.5 | 46 | 46 | 100 | 66 |
| 69 | do | 35 | 255 | 180 | 152 | 84.4 | 37 | 37 | 100 | 53 |
| 70 | do | 60 | 246 | 191 | 159 | 83.2 | 43 | 44 | 102.3 | 54 |
| 71 | do | 25 | 207 | 180 | 142 | 78.8 | 43 | 36 | 83.7 | 58 |
| 72 | Female | 35 | 211 | 171 | 148 | 86.5 | 44 | 35 | 79.5 | 52 |
| 73 | do | 33 | 208 | 166 | 141 | 84.9 | 41 | 41 | 100 | 55 |
| 74 | do | 27 | 199 | 168 | 147 | 87.5 | 42 | 36 | 85.9 | 55 |
| 75 | Male | 30 | 230 | 174 | 140 | 80.4 | 42 | 38 | 90.4 | 52 |
| 76 | do | 17 | 210 | 170 | 135 | 79.3 | 42 | 35 | 83.3 | 56 |
| 77 | do | 45 | 213 | 175 | 148 | 84.5 | 39 | 38 | 97.4 | 64 |

APPENDIX B

VOCABULARIES

As has been pointed out already, the Negritos of Zambales seem to have lost entirely their own language and to have adopted that of the Christianized Zambal. A study of the vocabularies here given will show that in various sections of the province Zambal is to-day the language of the Negritos. Differences will be found, of course, in the dialects of regions which do not come much into contact with each other, and contact with other dialects creates different changes in different localities.

The chief difference between the Bolinao dialect and that of the region south is the substitution of the letter "r" in the former for "l;" as "arong" for "along," nose; "dira" for "dila," tongue. Yet not a few words are entirely different. These differences may arise from the use of synonyms or from misinformation, as I was able to take the Bolinao vocabulary from only two individuals. This dialect is spoken in the towns of Bolinao, Anda, Bani, and Zaragoza, although I am informed that there are even slight differences in the speech of the people of some of these towns. The towns from Infanta to Iba have the second dialect.

When the Aeta element enters the differences become more apparent, although the relationship between the differing words may often be seen; for instance, "sabot," hair, becomes "habot;" "along," nose, becomes "balongo." But the number of words which bear no relationship is greater than in the case of the first two dialects. It is possible that here we find traces of an original Negrito language, but I believe that all these words can be traced to Malay roots. It will be noticed also that the two following vocabularies taken from Negritos at Santa Fé and Subig do not differ materially from the Zambal-Aeta—in fact, they may be regarded as identical.

The writer can not vouch for the vocabularies from Bataan and Bulacan, but gives them for the sake of comparison. The words collected by Montano are mostly Tagalog and differ somewhat from Cooke's. The latter states that he verified his seven times. The two sets are probably from different parts of the province. The Dumagat vocabulary from Bulacan Province, while offering greater differences, is plainly of Malay origin like all the others.

| No. | English | Zambal of Bolinao | Zambal of Iba | Zambal-Aeta |
|-----|---------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1 | Man | la-la'-ki | la-la'-ki | la-la'-ki |
| 2 | Woman | ba-bay'-e | ba-bay'-e | ba-bay'-e |
| 3 | Father | a'-ma | a'-ma | a'-ma |
| 4 | Mother | i'-na | i'-na | na'-na |
| 5 | Brother | bu'-sat | ta-la-sa'-ka | pa'-tel |
| 6 | Sister | bu'-sat | ta-la-sa'-ka | pa'-tel |
| 7 | Uncle | ba'-pa | ba'-pa | ba'-pa |
| 8 | Aunt | da'-da | da'-ra | in'-do |
| 9 | Son | a'-nak | a'-nak | a'-nak |
| 10 | Daughter | a'-nak | a'-nak | a'-nak |
| 11 | Head | o'-ro | o'-lo | o'-lo |
| 12 | Hair | sa-bot' | sa-bot' | ha-bot' |
| 13 | Mouth | bo-bo'-y | bo-bo'-y | bo-bo'-y |
| 14 | Eye | ma'-ta | ma'-ta | ma'-ta |
| 15 | Nose | a'-rong | a'-long | ba-loñg'-o |
| 16 | Teeth | ni'-pen | ni'-pen | ni'-pin |
| 17 | Tongue | di'-ra | di'-la | di'-la |
| 18 | Ear | to-tor'-yan | to-tol'-yan | tu'-li |
| 19 | Arm | ta-ki-ay' | ta-ki-ay' | ta-ki-ay' |
| 20 | Leg | pa'-a | pa'-a | pa'-a |
| 21 | Chest | ke-rep' | ke-lep' | nib'-nib |
| 22 | Back | gu-rot' | bo-kot' | bo-kot' |
| 23 | Foot | ay'-e | ay'-e | bi'-ti |
| 24 | Hand | ga'-met | ga'-met | ga'-met |
| 25 | Finger | ga-ra-may'-e | ga-la-may'-e | ga-la-may'-e |
| 26 | Earth | lu'-ta | lu'-ta | lu'-ta |
| 27 | Sky | rañg'-it | lañg'-it | lañg'-it |
| 28 | Sun | au'-ro | au'-lo | al'-lo |
| 29 | Moon | bu'-ran | bu'-lan | bu'-an |
| 30 | Star | bi-tu'-un | bi-tu'-un | bi-tu'-in |
| 31 | Cloud | re'-rem | a-la-pa'-ap | da'-yim |
| 32 | Rain | ra'-peg | a-ba-gat' | u'-ran |
| 33 | Thunder | ko'-dor | | cu'-rol |
| 34 | Lightning | ki'-mat | | ki'-mat |
| 35 | Water | ra'-nom | la'-nom | la'-nom |
| 36 | Fire | a-po'-y | a-po'-y | a-po'-y |
| 37 | White | ma-pu'-ti | ma-pu'-ti | ma-pu'-ti |
| 38 | Black | mañg'-i'-sit | mañg'-i'-tit | mañg'-i'-tit |
| 39 | Red | ma-o-dit' | ma-ti-bi'-a | ma-o-rit' |
| 40 | Yellow | ma-sil-ya'-o | ma-hol-ya'-o | ma-hol-ya'-o |
| 41 | Cooked rice | ka'-nen | ka'-nen | ka'-nin |
| 42 | Uncooked rice | bu'-yas | bu'-yas | bu'-ya |
| 43 | Day | au'-ro | au'-lo | al'-lo |
| 44 | Night | ya'-bi | ya'-bi | ya'-bi |
| 45 | Cold | ma-ra-yep' | ma-la-yep' | ma-la-yip' |
| 46 | Hot | ma-mot' | ma-mot' | ma-mot' |
| 47 | Large | a-la-ki' | ma-hi-ban' | mal-hay' |
| 48 | Small | da-i-te' | ma-ca-lug' | may-a'-mo |
| 49 | Good | ma-ong' | la'-bas | ma'-ham-pat' |
| 50 | Bad | ma-ra-yet' | ma-la-yet' | ma-la-yit' |
| 51 | Rich | may-a-man' | may-a-man' | may-a-man' |
| 52 | Poor | ma-i-dap' | ma-i-rap' | ma-i-rap' |
| 53 | Sick | ma-sa-kit' | ma-sa-kit' | ma-ha-kit' |
| 54 | Dead | na'-ti | na'-ti | na'-ti |
| 55 | Here | i'-ti | i'-ti | a-ka-lung'-un |
| 56 | There | i'-sen | i'-sen | ba'-hen |
| 57 | No | ka'-i | ka'-i | a'-he |
| 58 | Yes | ó | ya | a'-o |
| 59 | To sleep | ma'-rek | ma'-lek | ma-to-lo'-i |
| 60 | To jump | ru-mok'-zo | lu-mok'-zo | mi-tok-tok-pa'-o |
| 61 | To run | mo-ray'-o | mo-lay'-o | may'-o |
| 62 | To fight | mi-a-wa'-y, raban | la'-ban | mi-a-wa'-y |
| 63 | To eat | mañg'-an | mañg'-an | mañg'-an |

| Acta of Santa Fe | Acta of Subig | Acta, Bataan Province | Dumagat, Bulacan Province | No. |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| la-la'-ki | ya'-ki | la-la-ke* | ta'-nun-gu'-bat | 1 |
| ba-bay'-e | ba-bay'-e | ba-bay'-e* | mow'-na | 2 |
| ba'-pa | ba'-pa | ba'-pa, ama* | | 3 |
| in'-do | in'-do | in'do, inang* | | 4 |
| ka-pa-tel | | ka'-ka, kapatid* | | 5 |
| ka-pa-tel | | o-pa-tel', kapatid* | | 6 |
| da'-ra | | ale* | | 7 |
| da'-ra | | mama* | | 8 |
| a'-nak | a'-nak | a'-nak* | anak | 9 |
| a'-nak | a'-nak | a'-nak* | anak na mowna | 10 |
| o'-lo | la'-bo | o'-o, ulo* | pun'-tuk | 11 |
| ha-bot' | la-bot' | la-buk', bohoc* | | 12 |
| bo-bo'-y | bo-bo'-y | ba-lu'-go, bebec* | un'-suk | 13 |
| ma'-ta | ma'-ta | ma'-ta * | | 14 |
| ba-long'-o | ba-long'-o | ba-tong', ilong* | an-gut | 15 |
| n-i'-pen | ni'-pen | ni'-pul | ni'-pon | 16 |
| di'-la | di'-la | gi'-lo | | 17 |
| tu'-li | to'-ok | tu'-uk, taenga* | ta-ling'-a | 18 |
| ta-ki-ay' | ta-ki-ay' | tu-ki-ay', camay* | co-mot' | 19 |
| pa'-a | pa'-a | pam'-pa, paa' | pa'-a | 20 |
| nib'-nib | dub'-dub | dub'-dub, debdeb* | dib'-dib | 21 |
| bo-kot' | | li'-kul | | 22 |
| bi'-ti | ta-lim-pa-pa'-kan | ta-lan-pa'-kin | | 23 |
| ga'-met | ga'-met | a'-ma-kam'-a-ha | | 24 |
| ga-la-may'-e | da-le'-di | da-li-ri, dalin* | | 25 |
| lu-ta | lu'-ta | lu'-ta | pu'-tok | 26 |
| lang'-it | lang'-it | | lang'-ot | 27 |
| al'-lo | al'-lo | u'-lo | a-da'-o | 28 |
| bu'-an | bu'-yan | | ma-tal'-lung | 29 |
| bi'-tu-in | bi'-tu-in | ba'-tu-in | bu'-ta-tul'-ya | 30 |
| lo'-om | ta'-la | u'-wip | | 31 |
| u'-ran | a-ba'-gat | ulan* | | 32 |
| ku'-rol | ki'-lot | da-ug-dug' | | 33 |
| ki'-mat | ki'-mat | ma-la'-wut | | 34 |
| la'-nom | la'-num | la'-num, tubig* | o'-rat | 35 |
| a'-po-y | a'-po-y | a'-po-y* | a'-po-y | 36 |
| ma-pu'-ti | ma-pu'-ti | maputi* | ma-lup'-say | 37 |
| mang-i'-tit | ma'-o-lin | maitim* | mal-a-ton' | 38 |
| ma-o-rit' | | mapula* | mat-la | 39 |
| ma-hol-ya'-o | | | sa-la-kut' | 40 |
| ka'-un | ka'-nen | | | 41 |
| bu'-ya | bu'-ya | bigas* | a'-moy | 42 |
| al'-lo | al'-lo | u'-lo | adio | 43 |
| ya'-bi | ya'-bi | | du'-mong | 44 |
| mal-a-yep' | mal-a-yep' | ma-lam'-ig, maginao* | mag'-id-nou | 45 |
| ma-o-mot' | ma-o-mot' | | may-a-nit' | 46 |
| mal-hay' | mal-hay' | | hun'-ga | 47 |
| may-a-mo' | may-a-mo' | | ma-sa-ninp' | 48 |
| ma-ham'-pat | ma-ham'-pat | | ma-sam'-pat | 49 |
| ma-la-yit' | ma-la-yit' | | ma-lot' | 50 |
| may-a-man' | may-a-man' | | may-a-man' | 51 |
| ma-i-rap' | ma-i-rap' | | | 52 |
| ma-ha-kit' | ma'-in-ha'-kit | | teoram | 53 |
| na'-ti | na'-ti | | nalebou | 54 |
| bi-er'-i | a-ri'-di | | dian | 55 |
| bay'-hen | a-ri'-do | | dedeyaya | 56 |
| a'-he | a'-he | ayaw* | ayenok | 57 |
| a'-o | a'-o | o-o'* | abu-kogid | 58 |
| ma-to-lo'-i | ma-to-lo'-i | matulog* | napediak | 59 |
| mag-tok-pa'-o | lu-mo'-ko | lemokso | lumowat | 60 |
| may'-o | may'-o | takumbao* | gumekan | 61 |
| mi-awa'-y | ma-ki'-a-wa'-y | | sullo-sum-to-yan | 62 |
| mañg'-an | mañg'-an | cañ* | mumungan | 63 |

| No. | English | Zambal of Bolinao | Zambal of Iba | Zambal-Aeta |
|-----|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 64 | To drink | mi'-nom | mi'-nom | mi'-nom |
| 65 | Tree | ka'-yo | kay'-yo | kay'-yo |
| 66 | Mountain | ba'-ker | ba'-kil | ba'-kil |
| 67 | River | i'-log | i'-lug | ka-bu-la-san' |
| 68 | Stone | ba'-to | ba'-to | ba'-to |
| 69 | Grass | di'-kot | di'-kot | di'-kot |
| 70 | Dog | a'-so | a'-so | a'-ho |
| 71 | Rooster | ma-nuk' | ma-nook' | ma-nook' |
| 72 | Hen | o'-pa | tu'-a | tu'-a |
| 73 | One | sa'-ya | a'-sa | mi'-ha |
| 74 | Two | ru'-a | lu'-a | lu'-a |
| 75 | Three | ta'-ro | to'-lo | tat'-lo |
| 76 | Four | a'-pat | a'-pat | a'-pat |
| 77 | Five | ri'-ma | li'-ma | li'-ma |
| 78 | Six | a'-nem | a'-nem | a'-nam |
| 79 | Seven | pi'-to | pi'-to | pi'-to |
| 80 | Eight | ca'-ro | ca'-lo | ca'-lo |
| 81 | Nine | si'-am | si'-am | si'-am |
| 82 | Ten | ma-pu'-ro | ma-po'-lo | ma'-po |
| 83 | Eleven | la'-bin-sa'-ya | la'-bin-a'-sa | la'-bin-mi'-ha |
| 84 | Twelve | la'-bin-ru'-a | la'-bin-lu'-a | la'-bin-lu'-a |
| 85 | Thirteen | la'-bin-ta'-ro | la'-bin-to'-lo | la'-bin-tat'-lo |
| 86 | Fourteen | la'-bin-a'-pat | la'-bin-a'-pat | la'-bin-a'-pat |
| 87 | Twenty | ru'-an-pu'-ro | lu'-am-po'-lo | lu-am'-po |
| 88 | Twenty-one | ru'-an-pu'-ro-sa'-ya | lu'-am-po'-lo-a'-sa | lu-am-po-mi'-ha |
| 89 | Thirty | ta'-ron-pu'-ro | to'-lom-po'-lo | tat-lom-po' |
| 90 | Forty | a'-pat-a-pu'-ro | a'-pat-a-po'-lo | a'-pat-a-po' |
| 91 | One hundred | san-ya'-sot | say-a-tos' | mi'-hun-ga'-to |
| 92 | I | si'-ko | si'-ko | hi'-ko |
| 93 | You | si'-ka | kay'-o | kay'-o |
| 94 | He | si-tao' | hi'-a | . |
| 95 | We | si-ka'-mi | hi-ta'-mo | hi-ta'-mo |
| 96 | They | sa'-ra | hi'-la | hi'-la |
| 97 | Our | i'-ko-mi | i-kun'-ta-mo | i-kun-ta'-mo |
| 98 | My | i-kon'-ko | i-kon'-ko | i-kon'-ko |
| 99 | Near | a'-dam | ma-ra'-mi | ma-ra'-mi |
| 100 | Far | a-day'-o | ma-day'-yo | ma-ro'-yo |

| Aeta of Santa Fé | Aeta of Subig | Aeta, Bataan Province | Dumagat, Bulacan Province | No. |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----|
| mi'-nom | mi'-nom | minum* | neniomok | 64 |
| kay'-yo | kay'-yo | ka-hoy* kayo | | 65 |
| ba'-kil | ba'-kil | bu'-kil | | 66 |
| ba'-la | | sa'-num | | 67 |
| ba'-to | ba'-to | ba-to* | | 68 |
| di'-kot | di'-kot | | | 69 |
| a'-ho | | | | 70 |
| ma-nok' | ma-nook' | | | 71 |
| | | | | 72 |
| mi'-ha | mi'-ha | isa* | isin | 73 |
| lu'-a | lu'-a | delawa* | adua | 74 |
| tat'-lo | tat'-lo | tatlo* | telewan | 75 |
| a'-pat | a'-pat | apat* | | 76 |
| li'-ma | li'-ma | lima* | | 77 |
| a'-nem | a'-nem | anem* | | 78 |
| pi'-to | pi'-to | pito* | | 79 |
| oa'-lo | oa'-lo | oalo* | | 80 |
| si'-am | si-am | siam* | | 81 |
| ma'-po | ham'-po | sampo* | isin-a-mapolo | 82 |
| la'-bin-mi-ha | la'-bin-mi'-ha | | isin-a-mopolo-a-isin | 83 |
| la'-bin-lu'-a | la-bin-lu'-a | | isin-o-mopolo-adua | 84 |
| la'-bin-tat'-lo | la-bin-tat'-lo | | | 85 |
| la'-bin-a'-pat | la-bin-a'-pat | | | 86 |
| lu-am'-po | lu-am'-pa | | aduamapolo | 87 |
| lu-am'-po-mi'-ha | lu-am'-po-mi'-ha | | | 88 |
| tat-lom'-po | tat-lom'-po | | | 89 |
| a'-pat-a-po' | a'-pat-a-po' | | | 90 |
| mi-hun-ga'-to | ma-ga'-to | sandaan* | isinadian | 91 |
| hi'-co | | a'-co* | | 92 |
| hi'-ca | | icaa | | 93 |
| | | | | 94 |
| | | | | 95 |
| | | | | 96 |
| | | | | 97 |
| | | | | 98 |
| | | | | 99 |
| | | | | 100 |

The words marked (*) were taken from Montano's vocabulary in his *Mission aux Philippines*. The others were collected by C. J. Cooke, MS. of The Ethnological Survey, and E. J. Simons, MS. of The Ethnological Survey.

INDEX

| | Page |
|--|--------|
| Adornment, personal | 36 |
| Adultery, penalty for..... | 62 |
| Aeta: | |
| A native name for Negritos..... | 17 |
| Vocabularies of | 80-83 |
| Agricultural implements | 42 |
| Agriculture | 42 |
| Agta | 18 |
| Alabat, Island of, presence of Negritos..... | 18 |
| Albay, Negritos in..... | 18 |
| Alcoholism, unknown among Negritos..... | 62 |
| Amusements | 49 |
| (See also Dancing.) | |
| Angat River, Negritos on..... | 19 |
| Animals, hunted by Negritos..... | 44 |
| Anitos, belief in..... | 65 |
| Antique Province, Negritos of..... | 20 |
| Arm: | |
| Abnormal length of..... | 33 |
| Measurements of the..... | 34 |
| Arrows: | |
| Used in war..... | 44 |
| Used in hunting and fishing..... | 46 |
| Baluga | 17, 18 |
| Bark cloth | 37 |
| Basket making | 44 |
| Bataan: | |
| Negrito custom in..... | 37 |
| Negritos of, described..... | 32 |
| Vocabulary from | 81, 83 |
| Batak of Paragua, customs sketched..... | 22 |
| Belatic, trap used by Negritos..... | 45 |
| Berries, necklaces of dried..... | 37 |
| Betel nut, rarely chewed by Negritos..... | 62 |
| Betrothal: | |
| Attempt to disregard..... | 58 |
| Early | 57 |
| Black, Negritos' preference for..... | 37 |
| Blistering, as a curative treatment..... | 67 |
| Blumentritt, quoted on Negritos in northeastern Luzon..... | 19 |
| Bolinao, speech of Negritos of..... | 79 |
| Bone fractures, Negritos' treatment for..... | 66 |
| Botolan: | |
| Attempt to settle Negritos of..... | 71 |

| | Page |
|--|--------|
| Botolan—Continued. | |
| Number of Negritos in..... | 30 |
| Physical aspect of the region described..... | 30 |
| Bows and arrows..... | 43 |
| Breasts of Negrito women..... | 34 |
| Bukidnon, intermarriage with Negritos..... | 21 |
| Bulacan Province: | |
| Negritos in | 19 |
| Vocabulary from | 81, 83 |
| Burial, manner of performing..... | 61 |
| Cagayan Province, Negritos reported from..... | 20 |
| Caiṅgin | 42 |
| Camarines, Negritos in..... | 18 |
| Capitán General del Monte, appointment of..... | 70, 71 |
| Carabao Island, presence of Negritos in..... | 20 |
| Cephalic index | 34 |
| Ceremony: | |
| Head | 58 |
| Home coming, or "leput"..... | 59 |
| Religious, after a successful hunt..... | 48 |
| Rice | 57 |
| Charm, plant used as a..... | 67 |
| Children, treatment by parents..... | 56 |
| Chirino, description of condition of Negritos..... | 16 |
| Civilizing the Negritos: | |
| Reason for failure of plans for..... | 69 |
| Spanish decree in 1846 about..... | 68 |
| Terms of decree of 1881..... | 69 |
| Clearings or caiṅgin..... | 42 |
| Cloth, bark | 37 |
| Clothing | 37 |
| Collection of Negritos into towns..... | 70 |
| Color of Negrito skin..... | 36 |
| Combs of bamboo..... | 38 |
| Conquistados and nonconquistados..... | 69 |
| Cooke, vocabulary referred to..... | 79 |
| Cooking, methods of..... | 40 |
| Crops planted by Negritos..... | 42 |
| Curiosity of Negritos..... | 64 |
| Dancing: | |
| Baluk | 32 |
| Bee dance | 52 |
| Duel dance | 53 |
| Lovers' dance | 53 |
| Potato dance | 52 |
| Torture dance | 52 |
| Dancing, chief amusement of Negritos..... | 51 |
| Deer trapping | 45 |
| Dialect: | |
| Of the Zambal..... | 28 |
| Original Negrito | 29 |
| Dice game called "saro"..... | 49 |
| Dietary of Negritos..... | 41 |
| Disease, Negritos' idea of cause of..... | 65 |

| | |
|--|--------|
| Distribution of Negritos: | Page |
| In general | 13 |
| In the Philippine Islands— | |
| Alabat Island | 18 |
| Albay Province | 18 |
| Ambos Camarines Province..... | 18 |
| Bataan Province | 31 |
| Botalon pueblo | 30 |
| Bulacan Province | 19 |
| Cagayan Province | 20 |
| Guimaras Island | 21 |
| Isabela Province | 19 |
| Mariveles pueblo | 31 |
| Negros Island | 21 |
| Northeastern Luzon | 20 |
| Northwestern Luzon | 20 |
| Nueva Ecija Province..... | 19 |
| Panay Island | 20 |
| Paragua Island | 22 |
| Polillo Island | 18 |
| Rizal Province | 19 |
| San Marcelino pueblo..... | 30 |
| Sorsogon Province | 17 |
| Surigao Province | 22 |
| Tablas Island | 20 |
| Tayabas Province | 18 |
| Zambales Province | 17 |
| Division of labor..... | 42 |
| Divisions of the pygmy race..... | 13 |
| Divorce, rarity among Negritos..... | 61 |
| Dramatic, the Negritos' sense of..... | 64 |
| Dumagat | 17 |
| (In Bulacan) vocabulary from..... | 81, 83 |
| Ear, length of..... | 75 |
| Eating, manner of..... | 41 |
| Endurance | 47 |
| Exorcist or Mañga anito..... | 66 |
| Eyes | 35 |
| Exorcists | 66 |
| Fever, Negritos' treatment for..... | 66 |
| Filthiness | 41 |
| Fire, method of making..... | 40 |
| Fishing, ways of..... | 48 |
| Forest products sold by Negritos..... | 44 |
| Formosa, origin of the inhabitants (footnote)..... | 15 |
| Gambling | 49 |
| Games, comparative lack of..... | 49 |
| Girls, how considered..... | 56 |
| Government | 70 |
| Goiter, its prevalence and cause..... | 67 |
| Guimaras, presence of Negritos..... | 21 |
| Habitat of Negritos of Zambales, Tarlac, and Pampanga..... | 30 |
| Hair | 35 |

| | Page |
|--|--------|
| Height | 75 |
| Hostility between Negritos and civilized people in Negros..... | 21 |
| Hunting: | |
| Manner of | 47 |
| Religious ceremony after..... | 48 |
| Hunting and fishing..... | 44 |
| Huts, construction of..... | 39 |
| Iba, Zambal vocabulary from..... | 80, 82 |
| Ilokano, the, encroachment on Zambal territory..... | 28 |
| India, aboriginal inhabitants of (footnote)..... | 15 |
| Intellectual life | 63 |
| Isabela Province, distribution of Negritos in..... | 19 |
| Landed property | 43 |
| Leglets | 38 |
| Malay origin of Negrito dialects..... | 79 |
| Mamanua, Negritos of Mindanao, distribution of..... | 22 |
| Maŋga anito | 66 |
| Manufacture and trade..... | 43 |
| Mariveles, Negritos in..... | 31 |
| Marksmanship | 47 |
| Marriage: | |
| Description of the "leput," or home coming..... | 59 |
| How arranged for..... | 56 |
| The rice ceremony..... | 57 |
| Mathematical knowledge | 64 |
| Meals, number of..... | 40 |
| Measurements, anthropometric | 75 |
| Mental capacity | 63 |
| Meyer, quoted on distribution of Negritos..... | 17 |
| Mindanao, Negritos in..... | 20, 22 |
| Mindoro, Negritos in..... | 20 |
| Montano, mentioned | 79 |
| Morals, comparison between Negrito and Malayan..... | 61 |
| Moros, effect of their piracies on Zambal trade..... | 27 |
| Murder, punishment for..... | 63 |
| Music, character of Negrito..... | 50 |
| Musical instruments of Negritos..... | 50 |
| Name, not used in addressing elders or superiors..... | 56 |
| Names | 55 |
| How selected for children..... | 55 |
| Nasal index | 34 |
| Nasal index, tabulated results of measurements..... | 75 |
| Natural phenomena, effect on Negritos' mind..... | 63 |
| Negros, distribution of Negritos in..... | 21 |
| Northwestern Luzon, number of Negritos in..... | 20 |
| Nose | 34 |
| Breadth of | 75 |
| Length of | 75 |
| Nueva Ecija, distribution of Negritos in..... | 19 |
| Number of Negritos, estimated..... | 23 |
| Old age, early advent of..... | 34 |
| Omens, bad | 67 |

| | Page |
|---|------------|
| Origin and migrations of the Negrito race (footnote)..... | 14 |
| Ornaments | 37 |
| Panay Island: | |
| Distribution of Negritos in..... | 20 |
| Life and beliefs of Negritos in..... | 21 |
| Papuans, relations to Negritos discussed (footnote)..... | 14 |
| Paynaven Fortress | 27 |
| Physical characteristics of Negritos..... | 36 |
| Pigafetta, mention of Negritos..... | 15 |
| Pinatubo, Mount, described..... | 30 |
| Polillo Island, presence of Negritos in..... | 18 |
| Polygamy | 60 |
| Progathism, absence of, in Negritos..... | 36 |
| Pygmies: | |
| Ancient interest in..... | 13 |
| Important ethnologic role of..... | 13 |
| R, in the Bolinao dialect..... | 79 |
| Raids by Negritos..... | 70 |
| Religion | 48, 65, 66 |
| Remedies | 66-67 |
| Reservation for Negritos, plan for..... | 32 |
| Rizal Province, distribution of Negritos in..... | 19 |
| Salcedo, discovery of Zambales..... | 25 |
| San Marcelino, number of Negritos in..... | 31 |
| Santa Fé, vocabulary from..... | 81, 83 |
| Scarification | 36 |
| Singing, manner of..... | 51 |
| Skin disease, Negritos' indifference to..... | 67 |
| Slavery, existence among Negritos..... | 63 |
| Smallpox, treatment of patients..... | 67 |
| Smoking, prevalence and manner of..... | 62 |
| Social state | 23 |
| Songs | 50 |
| Sorsogon, Negritos in..... | 17 |
| Southern Islands, distribution of Negritos in..... | 20 |
| Span of arms..... | 75 |
| Spirits, Negritos' belief in..... | 65 |
| Stature | 33 |
| Subig, vocabulary from..... | 81, 83 |
| Sumatra, possible Negritic element in (footnote)..... | 15 |
| Superstitions | 65 |
| Tablas, Negritos at Odiungan..... | 20 |
| Tagalog language, invasion of Zambal territory..... | 28 |
| Tagbanua | 22 |
| Tayabas, distribution of Negritos in..... | 18 |
| Traps: | |
| For catching birds..... | 46 |
| For catching deer..... | 45 |
| Teeth, filing the..... | 36 |
| Theft, punishment for..... | 62 |

| | Page |
|--|----------------|
| Tobacco: | |
| Sold by Negritos..... | 44 |
| Used by Negritos..... | 62 |
| Toc, reason for turning inward..... | 36 |
| Torture, use of the con-de-mán..... | 63 |
| Units of value, Negritos' acquaintance with..... | 64 |
| Vocabularies | 79-83 |
| Weapons | 43, 44, 46, 47 |
| Zambal: | |
| Ancient customs | 25 |
| Backwardness of | 27 |
| Former close contact with Negritos..... | 28 |
| Religion | 26 |
| Vocabularies of | 80, 82 |
| Zambales Province: | |
| History | 25 |
| Physical features | 24 |
| Zuñiga: | |
| Speaks of former dominion of Negritos..... | 16 |
| Mentions Negritos in Bulacan..... | 19 |

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME II, PARTS II AND III

THE NABALOI DIALECT

BY OTTO SCHEERER

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

BY EDWARD Y. MILLER

MANILA
BUREAU OF PUBLIC PRINTING
1905

25586

THE NABALOI DIALECT

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Manila, October 31, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit two papers, one a grammar and vocabulary of the Nabaloi dialect of Benguet, by Otto Scheerer, the other a brief account of the Bataks of Palawan, by Edward Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. I recommend that these papers be published as Parts II and III of Volume II of the scientific studies edited by the Survey.

Very respectfully,

MERTON L. MILLER,
Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey.

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER,
Secretary of the Interior, Manila, P. I.

CONTENTS

PART II

| | Page |
|--|------|
| PREFACE | 95 |
| THE NABALOI DIALECT | 97 |
| The Ibaloi Igorot | 97 |
| Tribal name | 97 |
| Chinese influence | 98 |
| Extent of territory | 99 |
| Elements in Nabaloi | 100 |
| Difficulty in reducing the dialect to writing | 101 |
| The Nabaloi alphabet | 101 |
| Pronunciation | 101 |
| Diphthongs | 104 |
| Hiatus; transposition of vowels | 105 |
| Signs employed | 105 |
| Roots and particles | 106 |
| The article | 107 |
| Definite | 107 |
| Indefinite | 107 |
| The noun | 108 |
| Use of few, many, all, some, no, another | 109 |
| Use of right, left, both | 110 |
| Relation of Nabaloi to other Philippine dialects | 110 |
| The adjective | 111 |
| Modifications of the adjective | 111 |
| The noun and the adjective | 112 |
| The pronoun | 113 |
| Personal and possessive | 113 |
| Independent forms | 113 |
| Forms used only in composition | 114 |
| Possessive particles | 114 |
| Dual personal pronoun | 117 |
| Demonstrative pronoun | 117 |
| Conjugation of "to be here" and "to be there" | 118 |
| Relative pronoun | 119 |
| Interrogative pronoun | 120 |
| Adverbs and adverbial expressions | 121 |
| Prepositions | 122 |
| Conjugation of "to be in the house" | 124 |
| Conjunctions | 125 |

| THE NABALOI DIALECT—Continued. | Page |
|---|------|
| The verb | 126 |
| Formation and general character of verbal forms | 126 |
| On particles | 128 |
| On tenses | 129 |
| Paradigms | 129 |
| <i>Bumu</i> , to kill | 129 |
| <i>Asak</i> , to plant | 130 |
| Negative forms | 131 |
| <i>Bumu</i> , to kill | 131 |
| <i>Asak</i> , to plant | 132 |
| The passive voice | 132 |
| <i>Bumu</i> , to kill | 132 |
| Conjugation of transitive verbs | 133 |
| <i>Kalbig</i> , to strike with the fist | 133 |
| <i>Kalbig</i> , with personal pronoun as object | 133 |
| Further examples of transitive verbs | 134 |
| Intransitive verbs | 135 |
| To be thirsty | 135 |
| To be hungry | 136 |
| Further examples of intransitive verbs | 136 |
| Reflexive forms | 138 |
| Various verbal forms | 139 |
| Negative and imperative forms; permission | 139 |
| Forms expressing desire, duty; also frequentative and causative forms | 140 |
| Further examples of the combination of roots and particles | 141 |
| Renderings of "to be," "to have" | 143 |
| Further examples of the rendering of the English copula "to be" | 144 |
| Interjections | 145 |
| On the trail to Benguet [a conversation with Igorot carriers] | 145 |
| Writing and popular songs | 147 |
| Nabaloi vocabulary | 151 |
| Persons | 151 |
| Parts of the human body | 151 |
| Clothing and ornaments | 152 |
| The house and field | 152 |
| Weapons, implements and utensils | 153 |
| Wooden ware | 153 |
| Iron tools | 154 |
| Miscellaneous articles | 154 |
| Basket ware | 154 |
| Implements for sewing, weaving, spinning, etc. | 154 |
| Food | 155 |
| Colors | 155 |
| Numbers | 155 |
| Cardinal | 155 |
| Ordinal | 156 |
| Numeral adverbs | 157 |
| Multiplicatives | 157 |
| Distributives | 157 |
| Measures | 158 |
| Division of time | 158 |

| | |
|--|------|
| THE NABALOI DIALECT—Continued. | |
| Nabaloi vocabulary—Continued. | Page |
| Standards of value | 159 |
| Animals | 159 |
| Mammals | 159 |
| Parts of the body of mammals | 159 |
| Birds | 160 |
| Parts of the body of birds | 160 |
| Fish, etc | 160 |
| Parts of the body, etc., of fish | 160 |
| Reptiles, etc | 160 |
| Insects | 160 |
| Plants | 161 |
| Geographic terms | 161 |
| Geographic names | 161 |
| Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects | 161 |
| Kinship | 162 |
| Lineal descendants of self, male speaking | 162 |
| Lineal ascendants of self, male speaking | 162 |
| First collateral line, male speaking | 163 |
| Affinities through relatives, descendants of self, male speaking | 163 |
| Affinities through the marriage of self, male speaking | 164 |
| Affinities through relatives, first collateral line | 164 |
| Affinities through the marriage of self, female speaking | 165 |
| Ordinal names of children | 165 |
| Various social terms | 165 |
| Festive slaughterings and drinking bouts | 166 |
| Government | 166 |
| Mortuary customs, etc | 167 |
| Bodily conditions, etc | 167 |
| Amusements | 168 |
| New words | 168 |
| Personal names | 170 |
| Male | 170 |
| Adopted Spanish names | 170 |
| Female | 171 |
| Adopted Spanish names | 171 |
| THE IBALOI IGOROT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO | 173 |
| PART III | |
| PREFACE | 181 |
| THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN | 183 |
| Additional information on the Batak people | 185 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

PARTS II AND III

| | After page |
|--|------------|
| PLATE LXIII. Sketch map, section of northern Luzon, showing Ibaloi area .. | 98 |
| LXIV. Lucban, a barrio of Baguio village | 98 |
| LXV. Rice terraces, Kabayan village | 98 |
| LXVI. Rice terraces and mountain-side unirrigated gardens, Kabayan village | 98 |
| LXVII. Rice terraces, Agno village | 98 |
| LXVIII. Typical Ibaloi dwelling having pine-board sides and grass roof, Pakdal barrio, Baguio village | 98 |
| LXIX. Typical Ibaloi dwelling, Pico village (ceremonial platform in foreground) | 98 |
| LXX. Best-class Ibaloi dwelling, Tublay village | 98 |
| LXXI. Ibaloi women (girl on right side) | 98 |
| LXXII. Ibaloi women on resting platform at dwelling | 114 |
| LXXIII. Ibaloi woman carrying a baby | 114 |
| LXXIV. Ibaloi rain protector | 114 |
| LXXV. Tattooing on arm of Ibaloi girl | 114 |
| LXXVI. Ibaloi carriers; woman and one man with carrying frame (chá-gi) | 114 |
| LXXVII. Ibaloi man turning soil for planting | 114 |
| LXXVIII. Ibaloi woman with carrying basket (ka-yá-bang) on her back; supporting cord (a-fid) passes over crown of head .. | 114 |
| LXXIX. Ibaloi woman transporting rice in ka-yá-bang | 114 |
| LXXX. Ibaloi women rice carriers resting on the trail | 148 |
| LXXXI. Ibaloi basket work | 148 |
| LXXXII. Ibaloi baskets | 148 |
| LXXXIII. Ibaloi wooden house utensils | 148 |
| LXXXIV. Ibaloi implements, etc | 148 |
| LXXXV. Ibaloi musical instruments | 148 |
| LXXXVI. Group of Batak people, showing shaved heads of women .. | 186 |
| LXXXVII. Group of Batak people, showing shaved heads of men | 186 |
| LXXXVIII. Group of Batak women, showing flayed-bark skirts and shaved heads | 186 |
| LXXXIX. Group of typical Batak people, showing clothing, shaved heads, and blowgun | 186 |
| XC. Large group of Batak people | 186 |
| XCI. Batak rice ceremony | 186 |

| | Page |
|---|------|
| FIGURE 1. An unidentified inscription engraved on a board and found in the mountains inhabited by Igorot people in 1837 ----- | 148 |
| 2. First line of a popular Ibaloi song ----- | 149 |
| 3. Second line of a popular Ibaloi song ----- | 149 |
| 4. First line of an Ibaloi melody ----- | 150 |
| 5. Second line of an Ibaloi melody ----- | 150 |
| 6. Third line of an Ibaloi melody ----- | 150 |

P R E F A C E

Some time ago the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine Islands, put into my hands a bound volume containing 450 pages—partly printed, partly in blank—a full programme for the ethnological study which he desired me to write of the Ibaloi Igorot of northern Luzon. Adverse circumstances did not admit of my filling out more than one chapter of general information about this tribe in addition to the twenty-nine schedules which were designed to take in an extensive vocabulary of its dialect.

From a desire to work out at least the linguistic part of this study to the full extent of my knowledge, I afterwards wrote in Japan and dedicated to the distinguished gentleman just named a paper entitled “Notes on the Nabaloi Dialect,” in which I reviewed in a methodical manner the pronunciation of the language and the different parts of speech, giving under each heading idiomatic examples and finishing with a short conversation and a few notes on Nabaloi music and singing.

Both manuscripts were compiled into one paper by Dr. Merton L. Miller, the Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, who remitted the same to me for a final revision with many valuable suggestions. I have added a paper entitled “The Ibaloi Igorot seventy-five years ago,” being the translation of an account of a Spanish expedition against this tribe in the year 1829 and taken from a work no longer easily to be obtained. This seemed to me to merit being brought to light again, as it is highly instructive on the past of the Ibaloi Igorot.

If the present memoir proves of interest I am sure this will be due to a great extent to the part taken in its completion by the excellent collaborators above mentioned. Complements like the pictures, the map, and other details (I mention only the much-to-be-welcomed spelling “Igorot” of The Ethnological Survey against “Igorrote” in my manuscripts) are indeed, as regards me, only “borrowed plumes.”

OTTO SCHEERER.

Tokyo, *July, 1904.*

The thanks of The Ethnological Survey are due Mr. C. Everett Conant, of the Bureau of Public Lands, for looking over the manuscript of this paper. If Mr. Scheerer were in Manila he would be the first to express his obligation to Mr. Conant.

THE NABALOI DIALECT

THE IBALOI IGOROT

TRIBAL NAME

The tribe whose language is discussed in the following pages is not commonly known by a special name, but is designated generally by the comprehensive term "Igorot." Another favorite Spanish term for this and other Philippine mountain tribes who obstinately refused to be converted was "infieles"—that is, pagans. This latter term is, of course, in no sense a tribal designation, but merely includes in one great group the people of the Philippines who did not accept Christianity.

The term "Igorot" first occurs in the chronicles, in its original form "Ygolotes," as a designation for the mountain people of the then unknown hinterland of Pangasinan and Ilocos (to-day known as the provinces and districts of Benguet, Kaiapa, Amburayan, and Lepanto); subsequently its use extended, and it has often been applied without discrimination to any number of non-Christian mountain tribes of north Luzon or of Luzon in general. This enlarged use of the name—though not wrong, if only etymologically considered—is misleading and should be discontinued to avoid further confusion.

More careful authors have employed the terms "Benguetanos" and "Igorotes of Benguet," which, while more precise, still fail to distinguish the tribe here under review as a unit from its congeners in and around that same province.¹

A native of Benguet, when asked by an outsider about his tribal connection, will answer, *Igudut-ak*—that is, "I am Igorot"—but let the same question be raised among natives from the south and others from the northwest of that province and it will elicit replies, *Ibaloi kame*—that is, "We are Ibaloi"—from the former, and *Kankanai kame*—that is, "We are Kankanai"—from the latter, in which replies a direct reference is made to the different dialects spoken by the two parties, namely, Nabaloi and Kankanai. I have therefore used the term Ibaloi

¹It will be readily seen that "Benguetanos," for the purposes of this study, includes both too much and too little. The term includes properly all the people of Benguet, though some belong to the group here under review and some do not. The same may be said of "Igorotes of Benguet," a term which includes all the Igorot in the province, both those speaking the dialect here considered and others, but fails to include those of the same speech outside of Benguet.

Igorot as a clear and precise designation of that division of the Igorot who know themselves as Ibaloi and their language as Nabaloi.

The etymology of the words Ibaloi and Igorot is gathered from Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera's *Etimología de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas* and is as follows:

Igorrote is composed of the root *golot* (mountain chain, in Tagalog) and the prefix *i* (dweller in, or people of) and means "mountaineer" (in German, *Bergsassen*).

The same author says:

Iribaloy is the name of a dialect spoken by the Igorrotes, and this word, in Ilokano, signifies simply "language of strangers."

For further explanation Padre Carro's excellent *Vocabulario Iloco-Español*¹ gives us *baliu*, which is doubtless the same as *baloi*, meaning "the farther side of a river or of the sea," and *i-baliu*, or *taga-baliu*, "stranger or person from beyond the seas," such as the Chinese or European.

CHINESE INFLUENCE

I have not been able to discover among the Ibaloi Igorot with whom I have been in contact any tradition to support the idea of their having come from somewhere beyond the seas; but a reference here suggests itself to the followers of the Chinese corsair Limahong, who, when besieged in 1657 by the Spaniards in his encampment at the mouth of the Agno River, Province of Pangasinan, made good his escape, according to the chronicles, by abandoning part of his troops, who took to the hills. "It is popularly supposed," says John Foreman in his book, *The Philippine Islands*, "that from these fugitives descends the race of people in that province [Pangasinan] still distinguishable by their oblique eyes and known by the name of Igorrote-Chinese."

There is surely nothing markedly Chinese in the bodily appearance of the Ibaloi Igorot nor, as far as my knowledge of Chinese goes, in their customs and religious ideas, which on the contrary I take as typically Philippine to such an extent that we may study in their light the past of the civilized lowlanders. Spanish authors have been inclined to see an indication of Chinese influence in the frequent occurrence in the Nabaloi dialect of the Spanish *ch*; this is indeed uncommon in the other Philippine tongues, which seem more apt generally to pronounce this sound as *ts*; but even the Ibalois, who, on the supposition that they are descendants of Chinese, and who have the sound *ch* in their vernacular, would most likely retain the same in an imported Chinese word, have in their vocabulary the word *i-tsa* for the Chinese word *cha* (tea) (see *ch*, p. 102), which is known all over the

¹ *Vocabulario Iloco-Español*, Fr. Andres Carro, Manila, 1888.

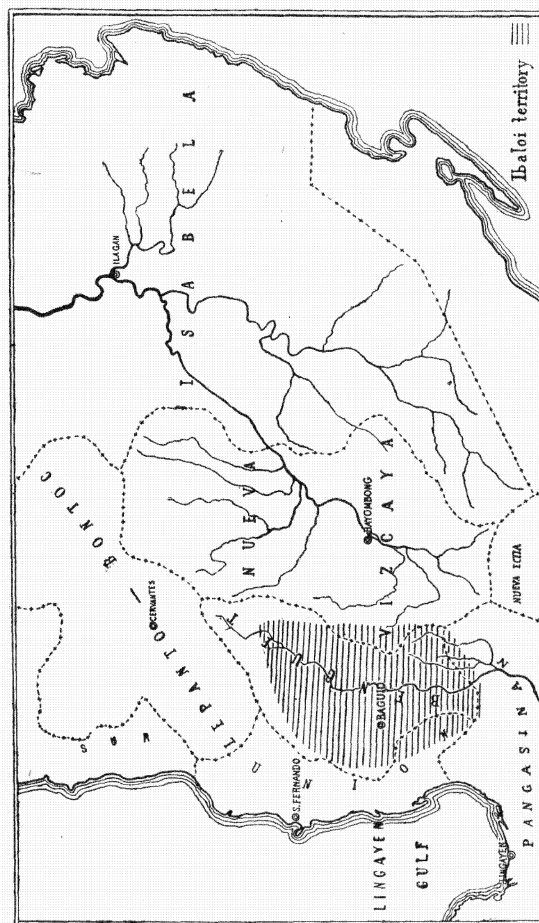


PLATE LXIII. SKETCH MAP, SECTION OF NORTHERN LUZON, SHOWING IBALOI DIALECT AREA.

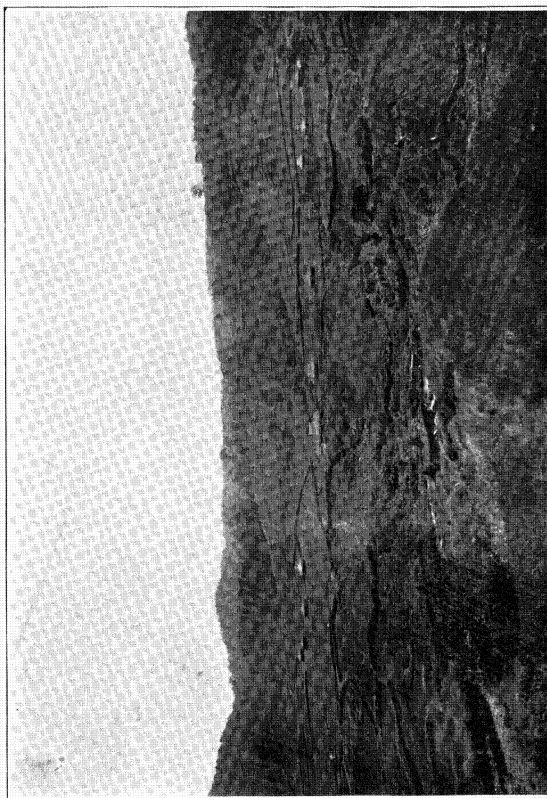


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXIV. LUCBAN, A BARRIO OF BAGUIO VILLAGE.

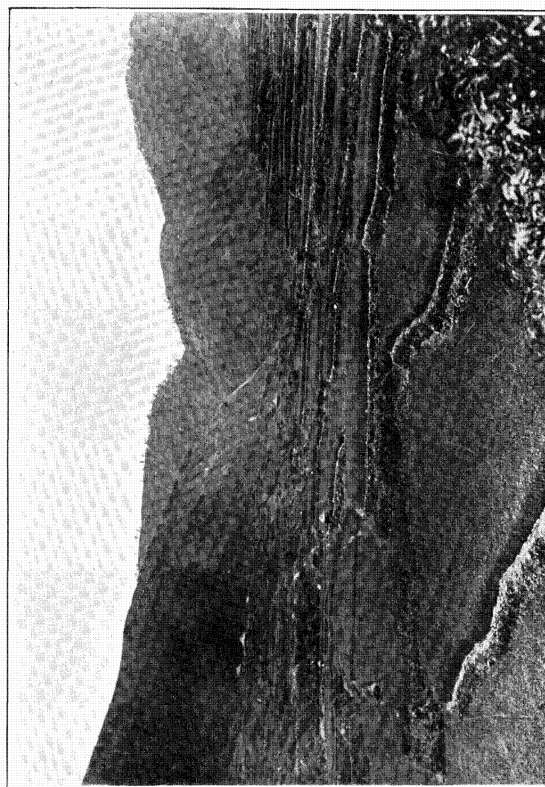


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXV. RICE TERRACES, KABAYAN VILLAGE.

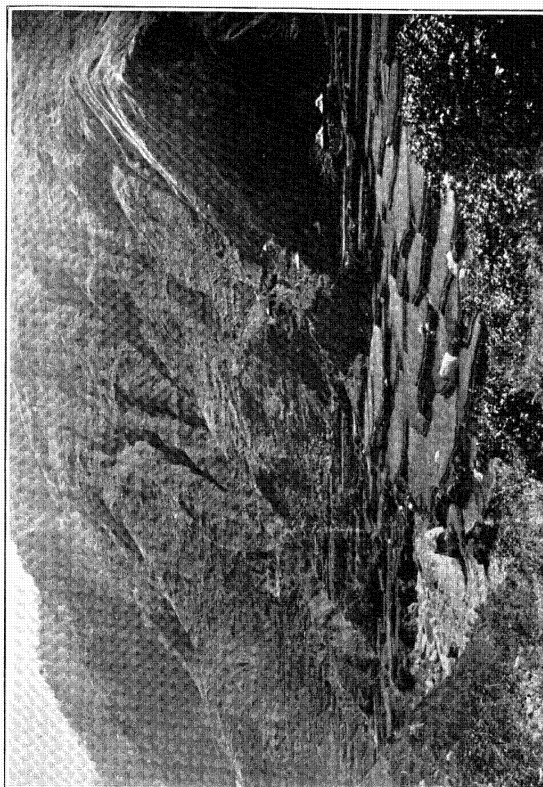


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXVI. RICE TERRACES AND MOUNTAIN-SIDE UNIRRIGATED GARDENS, KABAYAN VILLAGE.

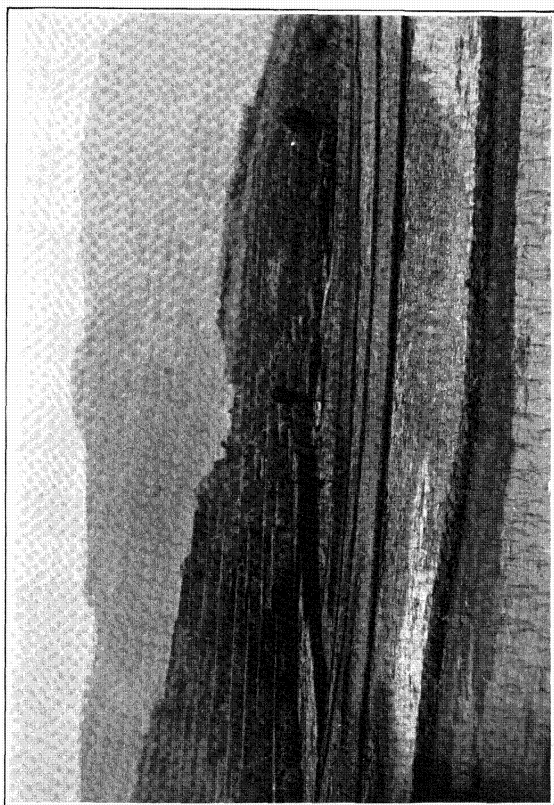


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXVII. RICE TERRACES, AGNO VILLAGE.

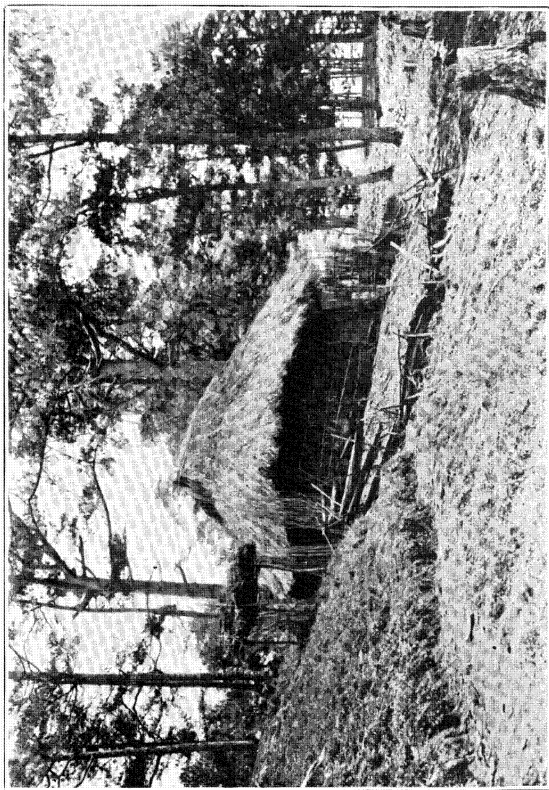


Photo by Worcester
PLATE LXVIII. TYPICAL IBALOI DWELLING HAVING PINE-BOARD SIDES AND GRASS ROOF, PAKDAL BARRIO, BAGUIO VILLAGE.

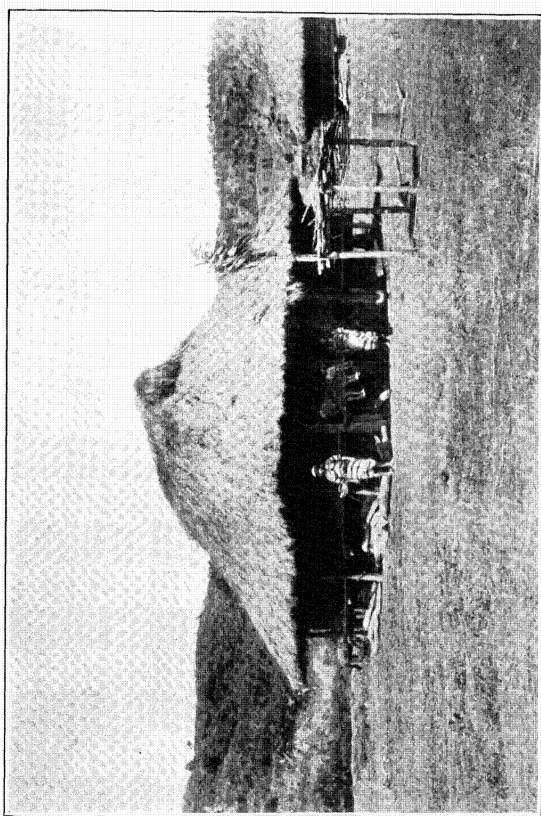


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXIX. TYPICAL BALOI DWELLING, PICO VILLAGE. (CEREMONIAL PLATFORM IN FOREGROUND.)

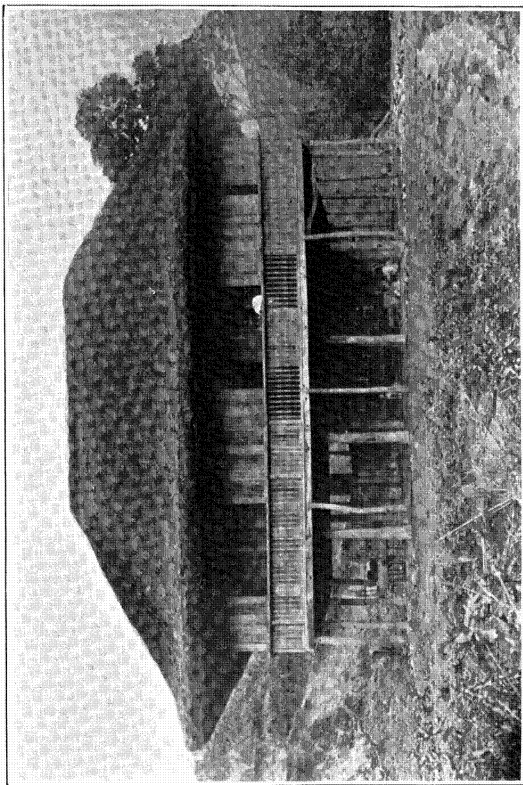


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXX. BEST-CLASS IBALOI DWELLING, TUBLAY VILLAGE.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXI. IBALOI WOMEN. (GIRL ON RIGHT SIDE.)

Islands. On the other hand, I have found among Ibaloi personal names some that are pure Japanese words, such as *karui* (in Japanese, "light," "not heavy") and *takai*¹ (in Japanese, "high," "dear"), and it is also interesting to note that one of the present headmen of the Igorot at Baguio, capital of Benguet, bears the very name of Limahong's lieutenant, Sioeo, whom the old chronicler, Gaspar de San Agustin, states to have been a Japanese. Further investigation in this direction will show whether these are more than accidental similarities.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY

Several allusions have already been made to the location of the Ibalois and the extent of the territory occupied by them. The center of their territory is the country around Baguio, the present capital of the Province of Benguet; its limit in the north is fixed by the rancherias of Kabayan, Atok, and Kapangan; in the west by those of Sablan and Galiano; in the south by the rancherias situated in La Union and Pangasinan Provinces on the southern foothills of the Mangitkiran complex. From these last, however, must be excepted some that are peopled by Igorot, called by the Ibalois *bágu* (Ilocano, *bágo*, "newly arrived person," "newly converted Christian"), who, according to reports, were deported thither from farther north by the Spanish Government. The eastern limit would be the Agno River between Kabayan and San Nicolas but for some outlying Ibaloi settlements beyond the river in the district of Kaiapa.

The number of individuals composing the Ibaloi must be between 12,000 and 15,000. The total population of Benguet is 15,000, but it is doubtful if the number of Ibaloi Igorot living in La Union, Pangasinan, and Kaiapa would make up for the deduction to be made for Igorot residents in Benguet who are not Ibaloi.

For the surrounding tribes in whose midst the Ibaloi Igorot live they have the following names: Toward the northwest and the north, the *Kankanai* and *Katauguan* (Sp., Cataoan) Igorot; northeast and east, Igorot which the central body of Ibalois call *Búsol*; south, *Pangasinan*, *Idoko* (Ilocanos), and *Bagu*; west, *Idoko* (Ilocanos) and *Kankanai*. The term *búsol* is not so much a tribal name as a hateful designation of the head-hunting, cattle-thieving, and kidnaping Igorot living around and south of the mountain Data in what is sometimes called the *Kabusolan* or territory of the *Búsol*. With them the Ibalois have lived since olden times in deadly feud. (Compare the Ilocano words "búsol," hostility, and "kabúsor," he who wishes or does evil to another; enemy in war.) For the people living in the foothills and plains to the south and west, be they Christians or Igorot, the Ibaloi highlanders have also the general term *Ikaptangan*—that is, people living in the hot lowlands.

¹ Compare also Pangasinan atagey, "high."

It is, of course, easy to see that the various divisions of the Igorot are more closely related one to another than they are to other tribes, but they do not have the idea of belonging to a race or nation in the same precise and developed form in which both ideas are present in our mind. Their scant culture and their natural inclination to live an independent and retired life in their mountains render them rather dull in conceiving and indifferent in retaining ideas that go beyond their immediate horizon—a disposition that does not, however, prevent their being shrewd though silent observers of what they see of the outer world. They are conscious of a closer kinship with the neighboring Igorot tribes and also of consanguinity with the Christian lowlanders from whom they are separated, more than by anything else, by the fact that the latter have adopted Spanish faith and civilization. The diversity of dialects, which to some would seem a great barrier, does not appear so to them, for what indeed are all these dialects, nearly uniform in roots, construction, and mode of expression, but so many variations of one and the same melody? If to the racial ties thus conceived is added their consciousness of living in the same land and of having shared, at the hands of the Spanish conqueror, for hundreds of years, more or less the same fate as the other colored Christian or non-Christian inhabitants, we can not doubt that the Ibaloi Igorot also are waking up to the idea of nationality.

ELEMENTS IN NABALOI

Until authentic vocabularies have been gathered from the tribes to the north and east,¹ making possible a more comprehensive study of Nabaloi, it must suffice to state that this dialect is composed of three elements, viz, Pangasinan, Ilocano, and a third which may be genuine Nabaloi or which will more probably dissolve itself again upon further examination into various components. The first two elements appear more or less disfigured by the different idiomatic pronunciation of these Igorot; the Pangasinan *oala*, meaning "there is," which becomes *guara*, and the Ilocano *darayan*, a kind of banana, which becomes *charayan*, may serve as typical instances of the changes so occurring. The influence on Nabaloi of the language of Pangasinan, from which province the main body of the Ibaloi Igorot is separated nowadays by the little-inhabited mountain complex of the Mangitkiran Peak (Monte de Santo Tomás), seems to have taken place in a former period of probably closer proximity of the Ibaloi Igorot and the people of Pangasinan.²

The Ilocano language, on the other hand, appears still to continue feeding and modifying the Nabaloi; the Nabaloi dialect, in fact, is used

¹ Mr. Scheerer had not seen Volume I of the publications of the Survey when this was written. Volume I, *The Bontoc Igorot*, by Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, contains exhaustive vocabularies of a people north of Benguet.

² See on this point *Historia de Ilocos*, by Isabelo de los Reyes, pt. II, pp. 169-171. (Account of a Spanish expedition against the Igorot.)

only within the tribe. In conversation with outsiders and on official occasions Ilocano is spoken, of which nearly all Benguet Igorot have a colloquial knowledge.

DIFFICULTY IN REDUCING THE DIALECT TO WRITING

Nabaloi, never before reduced to writing, presents to the student certain difficulties inasmuch as the pronunciation is often varying, hard to catch, and puzzling to fix by letter. These Igorot are moreover very careless speakers; the Nabaloi equivalent for "no," for instance, will be heard most often as *chi* or *uchi*, sometimes as *aishi*, but hardly ever in its true form *anchi*, which is the Pangasinan *andi*, same as Tagalog *hindi*.

Different valley communities have different terms for one and the same thing, and even within one rancheria or settlement inquiry for the name of a certain thing will often raise a controversy about the proper word. I point this out not in order to enhance but rather to limit the value of the vocabulary given herewith, in which doubtless there may be found many errors. I pretend to have cut only a narrow trail through the jungle of this hitherto unexplored territory, but by the light thus let in further investigation will be made easier and more satisfactory.

THE NABALOI ALPHABET¹

[Abbreviations: N., Nabaloi; I., Ilocano; P., Pangasinan; T., Tagalog; Sp., Spanish; Corr. Sp., corrupted from Spanish.]

PRONUNCIATION

Taking for a standard the Spanish alphabet, I begin with some remarks on the pronunciation, comparing at the same time the Nabaloi sounds and words with their equivalents in the neighboring dialects.

A

This vowel occurs—

- (1) Pure in *ama*, father; *alam-am*, a certain fern.
- (2) Corrupted into *e* or even *i* by hurried pronunciation in *Bana²ngan*, name of a locality; *asa²k*, to plant; ² *pita²k*, mire.
- (3) Obscured and scarcely audible in *ba²dat*, skin; *a²uchi*, no, is not; *a²mbulat*, heavy, and others.

B

- (1) Pure in *belbel*, pine tree; *bidin*, command.
- (2) With a short exploded *u* after it before *a*; *baka*, cow; *baknang*, rich man, headman; *matabá*, fat.
- (3) Passing into *f* as heard in the northern Ibaloi rancherias; *fúdai* for *búdai*, land, soil, earth, country; *falci* for *balci*, house. (See also under F.)

¹ Except where used to give prominence to letters in the alphabet, the use of italics throughout the text is confined to words of the Nabaloi dialect.

² In this, as in other cases later on, I render the Nabaloi root word indicative of an action by the English infinitive.

C

The Spanish linguo-dental *c* does not occur in Nabaloi. (For guttural *c* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, see under K.)

Ch

The existence in Nabaloi of this consonantal diphthong has served to strengthen Spanish authors in their opinion regarding the Chinese descent of the Igorot. A comparison with other native dialects shows this sound to be most often an idiomatic substitute for the *d* of the lowlanders, as already stated by Sinibaldo de Mas. It likewise replaces *l* or *r*:

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Chalan</i> | road | I. dalan | <i>Machim</i> | afternoon | I. malém |
| <i>Achâlem</i> | deep | I. adâlem | <i>Chins</i> | God | Sp. Dios |
| <i>Chila</i> | tongue | I. dila | <i>Bilchi</i> | green | Sp. verde |
| <i>Chua</i> | two | I. dua | <i>Sampidâncho</i> | a town | Sp. San Fernando |

(For *ch* instead of *r* see under R.)

D

Notwithstanding the substitution of *ch* for *d*, as illustrated in the preceding examples, there are found many words that retain the *d*: *Adirum*, shadow, ghost; *duungan*,¹ the space under the house; *angkâdias*, light of weight; *andâgot*, hard; *andûfit*, soft; *denmet*, designation for a phase of the moon.

D in Nabaloi stands very often also, though not always, for *l* in Ilocano, Pangasinan, etc.: *Mabadin*, possible, to be able; I., mabalin; *Idoko*, I., Iloko; *dûpa*, face; P., lupâ; *Manida*, T., Manila; *chukûdan*, bedstead; P., dukûlan.

The Ibalois further pronounce a *d* nearly always before the sound *y*: *Adyab*, to call; I., ayab; *djo*, your; I., yo; *kabadyo*, horse; Sp., caballo. (See also under T.)

E

(1) The characteristic *e* in the Philippine dialects, fluctuating between *e* and *i*: *Akes*, belly; *guanet*, rope; *ngeras*, lazy. (See also under I.)

(2) Very open and broad, like the German *ä* in *exduk*, egg; *kerul*, thunder; *teul*, fool.

(3) Like the nasal *u* in English "lull," but a little nearer to the Spanish *e*; I render it by *æ*: *Uæs*, shawl; *angæl*, body; *maptang*, good; *abutang*, drunk. The name of the Province of Benguet is pronounced by the natives Bêng-nget.²

F

Its use appears to be rather unsettled. While constant in some words—as, for example, *andûfit*, soft; *udûfen*, to accompany somebody, but *manûdup*, to go together—in others it is heard indifferently as *f* or *p*—for example, *apil* or *afil*, different; *Kupit* or *Kufit*, a female name.³ As a consequence of this tendency to interchange *p* and *f* the Ibalois share with other Philippine peoples the inclination to substitute *p* for the *f* in Spanish words. They say *Sampidâncho* for San Fernando, *pirino* for freno (bridle), etc. (See also under B and P.)

¹ *Duungan* (doongan), in antiquated Tagalog, a landing place for boats. It may be inferred herefrom that the Ibalois once lived and built their houses, in true Malay fashion, on the shores of navigable waters.

² *Bêng-nget* (in Ilokano, entanglement), the act of somebody or some thing being caught in a thicket or a tight place.

³ Igorot rice wine is called "tapui" by the Ilocano, but "tafei" by the Igorot.

G

Always hard: *Pagci*, P., palai, paddy; *madigat*, difficult; *apag*, flesh, meat. A hard *g* also appears in Nabaloi before the diphthong *oa* or *ua* of the lowlanders, the *wa* of the modern Filipino orthography, thus: *Asagoa*, spouse, consort; T., asawa; *guanet*, rope; L., uanet; *gualo*, eight; T., walo; *guara*, there is; P., oala; in T., wala, there is not.¹

ng

This nasal occurs in Nabaloi the same as in all other Filipino dialects: *Ngeras*, lazy; *angalutoi*, slippery; *tungan*, to sit down; L., tugau.

H

This aspirate does not occur. For comparison I give some Tagalog words containing this letter and their Nabaloi equivalents:

Hangin (wind), *chagem*; kahoi (wood), *kin*; buhoe (hair), *buck*.

I

I calls for no other remark than the general one applying to all Filipino dialects, that it is often not to be distinguished from *e*. A distinct *i* is heard in some words—as, for example, in *bidin*, command; *Pias*, name of a rancheria; *tag-in*, cold; *chiai*, here. An ambiguous *i* appears in *uling*, charcoal; *Bagio*, capital of Benguet; *Piko*, a rancheria; *palit*, dear, where the *i* might also be pronounced as a short, sharp *e*. (See also under E.)

J

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. The name Juan is pronounced Kuan.

K

The common *k* is found in words like *toktok*, head; *kechil*, pig; *kame*, we; *kin*, wood; *Kolkol*, a personal name. In other words it is pronounced like *ch* in Scottish loch, a sound for which I employ the letter *x*: *ixamen*, mat; L., ikamen; *exduk*, egg; L., itlog; T., iklog; *achaxel*, much, many; L., dakkél, great, large; *asixen*, old man; P., asiken; *puxau*, hawk.

L

Pronounced as in Spanish: *Malinas*, clear; *malukon*, pregnant; *chala*, blood; *chila*, tongue; *antóleng*, black. (See also under D and R.)

LL

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. In pronouncing Spanish words containing it the Ibaloi convert it into *dy*: Sp., silla, *sildya*.

M, N

Pronounced in the ordinary way.

Ñ

This Spanish letter does not occur.

O

Sometimes a pure *o*, as in *andayot*, hard; *toktok*, head; *ootik*, small, etc. In other words it passes into *u*—for example, *Bagio*, capital of Benguet; *antoleng*, black; *aso*, dog.²

¹It may be noted that the same difference in spelling is found in the old Spanish authors; Gaspar de San Agustin writes Limasagua for Limasaoa and Tanaguan for Tanauan. In Morga we find timagua for timawa, but Vava for Guagua in Mas.

²It should be noticed that *o* is used to indicate the third sound given under E.

P

While invariable in some cases, as in *palit*, dear; *pállog*, gum; *pisus*, Sp., peso: in others it passes into *f*, as shown under that letter.

Q

This letter is not used in writing Nabaloi.

R

Pronounced with the tongue and rather softly: *Era*, they; *marikit*, pretty. Note also the following letter changes: *Chala*, blood; L., *dara*; *díros*, clock, watch; Sp., *reloj*; *chinggol*, quarrel; L., *ringgor*; *gícha*, war; Sp., *guerra*; *uling*, charcoal; P., *uring*; *kuldgo*, mail; Sp., *correo*; *Alingay*, a town; L., *Aringay*; *diraldgo*, newspaper; Sp., *diario*. (See also under L and Ch.)

S

Sharp in *kosipos*, to roll up; *asas*, to see; *chaschasan*, peel, etc. Soft in *sudat*, to write; *síged*, well, right, and others.

T

Pronounced as ordinarily, though it is often not readily distinguished from *d* by an European ear.

U

Short in *nutnut*, to talk; *kadut*, to tie, etc.; long in *bunu*, to kill; *unas*, sugar cane, etc.

V, W, X, Y, Z

For *v* and *y* see under G and D, respectively. The other sounds do not occur, excepting perhaps *v*, which approaches the soft Nabaloi *b*, and *x*, which is used to represent the second sound given under K.

DIPHTHONGS

eu

A broad *e* joined to a short *u*: *Badén*, song; *Alén-én*, a personal name, etc.

ei

Sounds like the diphthong in English *they*, and takes the place of the Hokano *ai*: *Atci*, dead; *altci*, liver; *balei*, house; *pagei*, paddy.

ou

A long hollow *u*. This sound corresponds to the *ao* in lowland dialects: *Akou*, sun, day; T., *arao*; *payou*, rice field; *iron*, a big snake; *Palou*, name of a locality; *tapou*, top of mountain; L., *tapao*.

au

Like *ow* in English *cow*: *Puzau*, hawk; *talan*, star; *kalau*, a bird.

oi

Like the diphthong in English *coy*: *Angalutoi*, slippery; *Nabaloi*, name of this dialect, etc.

HIATUS; TRANSPOSITION OF VOWELS

There are in Nabaloi, as in Ilocano, certain words the correct pronunciation of which requires a distinct hiatus to be interposed between two syllables. Of this kind are: *Tag-in*, cold; *Pinán-an*, *Alén-én*, *Kam-ol*, three personal names; *bulbul-ó*, butterfly; *alam-am*, a fern; *un-an*, to go to see.

The hiatus in question is like the one we make in English in such a word as tick-tack.

It may be remarked finally that there are to be found in Nabaloi examples of that curious transposition of vowels within one word that is met with also in Ilocano and other native dialects. By a change of this kind the word *ambúlinget*, dark, for instance, will be heard as *ambúlunget*, and others similarly. A certain author has seen in this capriciousness in speaking one of the causes of the great variety of Philippine dialects.

SIGNS EMPLOYED

The two sounds fluctuating—the one between *e* and *i* and the other between *o* and *u*, for each of which the old Philippine alphabets had only one character—I shall not distinguish by special signs but write words containing them as I have heard them.¹

I discard further the distinction in writing between the first and second sounds under A, between the three kinds of C, and between the first and second sounds under E, because, being influenced by the neighboring dialects, they become more or less distinct according to the geographical position of each rancheria. The examples given may suffice to illustrate them.

Lastly, the difference between sharp and soft *s* and long and short *u* is not so excessive as to render diacritical marks necessary.

There remain only three special sounds to be considered: First, that which the Spaniards, finding it in all dialects of these Islands, rendered by *ñg*, *ng̃*, or *ng*. Leaving aside the much-debated question how it can be represented properly for popular, practical use, I retain in this study the simplest Spanish form of writing the sound *ng*.² The two other sounds

¹Rizal repudiates for Tagalog orthography the use of the *e* altogether, which he says was introduced by foreign writers. He admits only the *i* with two values—*i* in the middle of a word (Spanish *i*) and *i* in a final syllable a little more open, like *y* in English “carry,” “fluently”—that is, a sound between *e* and *i*. Of *u* he similarly says that in the middle of a word it sounds like the Spanish *u*, but that it opens a little and takes an intermediate sound between *o* and *u* in final syllables, a fact which, as in the case of *e* and *i*, leads some to believe that the Filipinos employed *o* and *u* indifferently. Words with two *o*'s of the intermediate sound, as *tutoo*, *poon*, etc., he pronounces to contain really only a long final *u*. He admits therefore the letter *o* only for final syllables, giving it the value of *ou*—that is, darker than the Italian *o*.

²In passing I will only point out that the sign *ñ* avoids the drawback which led Rizal to admit reluctantly the old Spanish *ñg* instead of the *g̃* proposed by him, viz, it does not destroy the character of the assimilated particle *na* in contractions like *Harin bata* for *Hari na bata*.

[The author proposed to adopt the character *ñ* in place of *ng*, but, in view of the fact that there is not general agreement as to the wisdom of this course and also because the character *ng* is well understood, it has seemed best for the present to represent the sound by *ng*.—Ed.]

are the ones described under E³ and the palatal fricative mentioned under K. As both are constantly used and clearly heard they merit distinctive signs, and I give them, the first with *æ* and the second with *x* (Association Phonétique Internationale).

ROOTS AND PARTICLES

Nabaloi, like all Philippine dialects, is agglutinative, built up of roots and particles.

By roots I mean here simply the words that convey a certain definite and independent idea—for example, *apui*, fire; *ootik*, little; *bunu*, to kill; *chua*, two. Particles I call here certain syllables which, taken by themselves, have no meaning whatever and therefore never occur singly in the sentence and which become significative only when agglutinated to roots or compound words the meaning of which they modify in a variety of ways. Agglutinative particles are either prefixed or infix or suffixed. Some examples will illustrate their use:

Prefix *maka*, meaningless if by itself, has the office of adding the idea “owner” to the sense embodied in the stem. Taking, for instance, the word *balei*, house, we get *makabalei*, owner of house; *makakabadyo*, owner of horse, and so on.

Infix *in* serves to make the past tense of verbal forms. Stem: *Tag-in*, cold; *antag-in*, to become cold; *t-im-ag-in*, to have become cold. In this case the *n* of infix *in* becomes *m* for reasons of idiomatic pronunciation.

Suffix *an* denotes locality. Root: *Apui*, fire; *apuian*, fireplace.

The number of particles a stem may take is not limited to one. For instance:

Root, *Puetang*, WARMTH, HEAT

+ Prefix *ka* and suffix *an*¹ *ka-p(ue)tang-an* Hot territory.

+ Prefix *i* *I-ka-p'tang-an* A person having his home
in the hot territory.

By certain particles a verbal force is given to nouns. For example, to the compound word *apuian*, fireplace, the idea of “to use as” is superadded by the prefix *pan*.

Thus—

| | | | |
|------------------|----------|------------------|-----------|
| <i>Saidiai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>panapuian</i> | <i>mo</i> |
| (Lit.: This here | the | use as fireplace | thine) |

Would mean:

Let this be your fireplace; (or, briefly) make your fire here.

The same sentence is rendered as a statement in the past tense by infixing into *panapuian* the particle *in*:

¹ *Ka* . . . *an* denote, among other things, the whole extent in which the idea expressed by the root prevails. The above is an instance of this idea in concrete sense; for abstract ideas compare T., layā, free; *ka-laya-an*, freedom.

Saidiai e pinanapuian mo
(Lit.: This here the used as fireplace thine)

This is the place that served you to make fire; (or) you made your fire here.

The notable point in this form is that it expresses both a thing and an action, and that with this duality in sense accords its grammatical appearance. It is preceded by the article like a noun and it can be modified as to time like a verb. We can not then bring it justly under either of these grammatical categories of ours, and the less we try to do so the sooner we enter into the spirit of these idioms.¹ (Compare "The verb," p. 126.)

THE ARTICLE

DEFINITE

The definite article, used for singular and plural and for both genders, is *e*, also pronounced *i* (Spanish pronunciation).

The declension of a noun with the definite article in English would appear in Nabaloi as follows:²

Nominative case: *e davi*, the man; *e balei*, the house.
Possessive case: *ne davi*, of the man; *ne balei*, of the house.
Objective case: $\begin{cases} \textit{sun davi}, \text{ to the man;}^3 \\ \textit{chi balei}, \text{ to the house.}^3 \end{cases}$
 $\begin{cases} \textit{e davi}, \text{ the man;} \\ \textit{e balei}, \text{ the house.} \end{cases}$

In speaking of persons the special article *si* is used with their personal names and also with words which express kinship, as *ama*, father; *ina*, mother; *agi*, brother, sister. It is likewise used with the pronouns *iui*, this, and *iman*, that, if they refer to persons.

The different cases are shown in the following example:

Nominative case: *si Mateo*.
Possessive case: *nan Mateo* or *ne Mateo*.
Objective case: *sun* or *sikan Mateo*; *si Mateo*.

Si, if following a vowel, is generally abbreviated to *s'* and pronounced as a suffix to the word preceding it. (See examples.)

INDEFINITE

The indefinite article is *saxei*, one, joined to the noun by the particle *a*. It forms the following cases:

Nominative case: *saxei a anak*, a child.
Possessive case: *ne saxei a anak*, of a child.
Objective case: $\begin{cases} \textit{sun saxei a anak}, \text{ to a child.} \\ \textit{saxei a anak}, \text{ a child.} \end{cases}$

¹ It may not be superfluous to point out here that although I take our grammatical categories as a ground plan for these notes and continually use terms taken from our grammar I use them because they are familiar and not because grammatical terms used in a European language fit exactly a Malayan dialect like Nabaloi.

² The word "declension" is used here merely as a matter of convenience. Strictly speaking, a word which does not change in form to make the different cases is not declined.

³ The dative particle *sun* is used only for living beings. With inanimate things this case generally bears upon relations as to space and is expressed by prepositions like *chi* and others.

Examples

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Akotai e dari.</i> ¹ | The man is bad. |
| <i>Akayang e kin.</i> | The tree is high. |
| <i>Baknang si Mateo.</i> | Mateo is a headman (or rich man). |
| <i>Si Mateo e baknang.</i> | Mateo is the headman. |
| <i>Abadeg e balei ni Kastil.</i> | The house of the Spaniard is big. |
| <i>Achaxæl e anak nan Kuan.</i> | Many are the children of Juan. |
| <i>Anaxan-ko e puxil sun aso.</i> | I have given the bone to the dog. |
| <i>Inaspol-ko's capitan.</i> | I have met the capitan (headman). |
| <i>Guara's amam?</i> | Is your father present? |
| <i>Chulong chi balei nan Mateo iai.</i> | These boards belong to the house of Mateo. |
| <i>Balei nan Mateo.</i> | The house of Mateo. |
| <i>Balei-Mateo.</i> | Mateo's house. |
| <i>Mapteng si iai.</i> | This (person) is good. |
| <i>Saidiai e balei ne saxei a abiteg.</i> | This is a house of a poor man. |
| <i>Iaxan-mo e sudat sun saxei a igudut.</i> | Give the letter to an Igorot. |
| <i>Insas-ko e bii.</i> | I have seen the woman (women). |
| <i>Guara insas-ko'n bii.</i> | I have seen women. |
| <i>Guara insas-ko chua'n bii.</i> | I have seen two women. |
| <i>Insas-ko achum a bii.</i> | I have seen some women. |
| <i>Achaxæl e bii'n insas-ko.</i> | Many were the women I saw. |

The emphasis obtained for "many" in the last sentence by putting *achaxæl* at the beginning and the definite article immediately after is an idiomatic construction often to be rendered by such relative phrases of ours as "it is he who," etc. For instance:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Sikak e kinilbig-to.</i> | It is I who was struck by him. |
| <i>Saidiai e cha kapan sungura.</i> | This is the direction they are taking. |
| <i>Sikam e angala ne kabadyo.</i> | It is you who have been the bringer of the horse. |

THE NOUN

The Nabaloi noun has no distinctive forms to denote number or gender.

The plural, if not left to be understood from the context, is expressed by such words as *amin*, all; *achum*, some; *achaxæl*, many, etc. There are, however, in use some nouns, mostly belonging to the Ilocano dialect, that form a plural by reduplication of the first syllable plus the following consonant; for example: *Balei*, house; *bal-balei*, houses; *ili*, town; *il-ili*, towns; *bilin*, command, order; *bil-bilin*, commands, orders.

To express the gender in the case of animals the words *daxi*, man,

¹ Lit.: "Bad the man." It is well to point out here that Nabaloi entirely lacks the auxiliary verb "to be," and that the idea of it is embodied in the noun (substantive, pronoun, adjective). Instances of this, besides above examples, will occur continually in these notes. (See under "The adjective.")

and *bii*, woman, or *kadakian* and *kabadyan* are made use of—*e asu'n dari*, the dog; *e asu'n bii*, the bitch. Horse and mare are *kabadyo* and *kabadyan*;¹ the bull and the cow of the carabao, *nuang a kudakian* and *nuang a kabadyan*.

In a few cases distinct words are used for the male and female animals, as: Male dog, *asu*; female dog, *tina*; male cat, *pusa*; female cat, *tina*; male deer, *mak-bet*; female deer, *ku-bi-lan*.

USE OF FEW, MANY, ALL, SOME, NO, ANOTHER

The following examples show the uses of the forms few, many, all, some, no, another, right, left, both, and are given here because a part of them show how the plural idea is expressed:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Saxe'i a too</i> | One man | <i>Apil a asu</i> | Another dog |
| <i>Chua'n too</i> | Two men | <i>Saxe'i a pana</i> | One arrow |
| <i>Taddo too</i> | Three men | <i>Chua'n pana</i> | Two arrows |
| <i>Acháxael a too</i> | Many men | <i>Taddo pana</i> | Three arrows |
| <i>Amin a too</i> | All the men | <i>Oótik a pana</i> | Few arrows |
| <i>Achum a too</i> | Some men | <i>Acháxael a pana</i> | Many arrows |
| <i>Anchí too</i> | No man | <i>Amin a pana</i> | All the arrows |
| <i>Apil a too</i> | Another man | <i>Achum a pana</i> | Some arrows |
| <i>Saxe'i a bii</i> | One woman | <i>Anchí pana</i> | No arrow |
| <i>Chua'n bii</i> | Two women | <i>Apil a pana</i> | Another arrow |
| <i>Taddo bii</i> | Three women | <i>Saxe'i a sambilacho</i> | One hat |
| <i>Oótik a bii</i> | Few women | <i>Chua'n sambilacho</i> | Two hats |
| <i>Acháxael a bii</i> | Many women | <i>Taddo sambilacho</i> | Three hats |
| <i>Amin a bii</i> | All the women | <i>Oótik a sambilacho</i> | Few hats |
| <i>Achum a bii</i> | Some women | <i>Acháxael a sambila-</i> | Many hats |
| <i>Anchí bii</i> | No woman | <i>cho</i> | |
| <i>Apil a bii</i> | Another woman | <i>Amin a sambilacho</i> | All the hats |
| <i>Saxe'i a aának</i> | One boy | <i>Achum a sambilacho</i> | Some hats |
| <i>Chua'n aának</i> | Two boys | <i>Anchí sambilacho</i> | No hat |
| <i>Taddo aának</i> | Three boys | <i>Apil a sambilacho</i> | Another hat |
| <i>Oótik a aának</i> | Few boys | <i>Saxe'i a bulong</i> | One leaf |
| <i>Acháxael a aának</i> | Many boys | <i>Chua'n bulong</i> | Two leaves |
| <i>Amin a aának</i> | All the boys | <i>Taddo bulong</i> | Three leaves |
| <i>Achum a aának</i> | Some boys | <i>Oótik a bulong</i> | Few leaves |
| <i>Anchí aának</i> | No boy | <i>Acháxael a bulong</i> | Many leaves |
| <i>Apil a aának</i> | Another boy | <i>Amin a bulong</i> | All the leaves |
| <i>Saxe'i a asu</i> | One dog | <i>Saxe'i a bato</i> | One stone |
| <i>Chua'n asu</i> | Two dogs | <i>Chua'n bato</i> | Two stones |
| <i>Taddo asu</i> | Three dogs | <i>Taddo bato</i> | Three stones |
| <i>Acháxael a asu</i> | Many dogs | <i>Oótik a bato</i> | Few stones |
| <i>Amin a asu</i> | All the dogs | <i>Acháxael a bato</i> | Many stones |
| <i>Achum a asu</i> | Some dogs | <i>Amin a bato</i> | All the stones |
| <i>Anchí a asu</i> | No dog | | |

¹The similarity in sound of these two words is accidental. *Kabadyo* is the Spanish "caballo;" *Kabadyan*, on the contrary, is composed of the two particles *ka* and *an* and of what is left as a root *bai*: Hlocano, *babai*, woman. This corresponds with the composition of *kadakian*, root *daci*, man; T., *lalaki*.

USE OF RIGHT, LEFT, BOTH

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Mata auanan</i> | Right eye | <i>Dima auanan</i> | Right hand |
| <i>Mata auidi</i> | } Left eye | <i>Dima auidi</i> | } Left hand |
| <i>Mata igit</i> | | <i>Dima igit</i> | |
| <i>Sata chua'n mata</i> | Both eyes | <i>Sata chua'n dima</i> | Both hands |
| <i>Tangida auanan</i> | Right ear | <i>Sadi auanan</i> | Right foot |
| <i>Tangida auidi</i> | } Left ear | <i>Sadi auidi</i> | } Left foot |
| <i>Tangida igit</i> | | <i>Sadi igit</i> | |
| <i>Sata chua'n tangida</i> | Both ears | <i>Sata chua'n sadi</i> | Both feet |

RELATION OF NABALOI TO OTHER PHILIPPINE DIALECTS

Besides what may be gathered from the examples given under "Pronunciation," I propose to show here by a number of common words, denoting parts of the human body, the affinity of Nabaloi to other Philippine dialects:

| English | Nabaloi | Ilokano | Pangasinan | Pampango | Tagalog |
|----------|----------------|------------------|------------|----------|---------|
| Body | angel | bagé | laman | katawan | katawan |
| Head | toktok | nló | oló | buntuk | úlo |
| Hair | buek | book | buek | buok | buhók |
| Eye | mata | mata | mata | mata | mata |
| Mouth | bungot | ngioat | sangi | asbuk | bibig |
| Tongue | chila | dila | . . . | dila | dila |
| Ear | tangida | talínga | layag | balugbug | taínga |
| Breast | pageu | barukong | pagéo | salu | dibdíb |
| Shoulder | abada | abaga | abala | pagó | balikat |
| Neck | bukdou | buklao (glutton) | bekleo | batal | liig |
| Arm | takdai | takiag | taklai | takdí | kamai |
| Hand | dima | ima | lima | gamat | kamai |
| Anus | ubet | ubet | . . . | buldit | puit |
| Heart | puso | puso | póso | pusu | puso |
| Face | dupa | rupa | lúpa | lupa | mukha |
| Belly | akes | tian | eges | atian | tian |
| Leg | ulpo | luppu | ulpo | puad | hita |
| Foot | sadi | saka | sali | bitis | paá |
| Bone | puxil | tulang | pukel | butul | butó |
| Skin | badat | . . . | bang | balat | balat |
| Blood | chala | dala | dala | daya | dugo |
| Brain | utek | otek | utek | utak | utak |
| Liver | altei | dalém | altei | atai | até |
| Flesh | {apag daman | }lasag | . . . | laman | laman |

I further give a number of Nabaloi words seemingly closely related to Malay proper and particularly interesting because they illustrate the coincidence of Nabaloi *ch* with Malay *dj*:

| English | Nabaloi | Malay | English | Nabaloi | Malay |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|-------------------|
| To kill | bunu | bunoh | Sharp | matachim | teidham (pointed) |
| Creek | singi | sungei | Rain | uchan (uran) | hudjan |
| Girkin | kasiman | katiman | To sew | manait | djaib |
| To show | ituchu | tundjuk | Far | {achauti | }djau |
| Weep | anangis | nangis | | {aragui | |
| Road | chalan | djalan | Needle | chakem | djaran |
| Heavy | ambulat | brat | | | |

THE ADJECTIVE

The adjective exists, like the noun, either as a simple root word or as a root with a prefix agglutinated. The adjective, if used predicatively, precedes the noun and includes in itself the idea of “to be.” A distinct verbal character is given to it by certain particles which add to it the meaning “to become.” Of this form a progressive and a past tense exist.

Examples

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>E balei ootik.</i> | The small house. |
| <i>Ootik e balei.</i> | The house is small. |
| <i>E balei dya ootik.</i> | The house which is small. |
| <i>Anootik e chanum.</i> | The water becomes (or will become) little. |
| <i>Amanootik e chanum.</i> | The water is becoming little. |
| <i>Imootik e chanum.</i> | The water has become little. |
| <i>Ootik da e chanum.</i> | The water is already little. |

MODIFICATIONS OF THE ADJECTIVE

The following is a list of a number of current adjectives showing the various prefixes and forms just mentioned:

| Adjectives | To be | Going to become | To be becoming | To have become |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Straight..... | dinteg | anditeg | amanditeg | dimiteg |
| Lazy | ngeras | angngéras | amangngéras | ngimiras |
| Cold | tag-in | antag-in | amantag-in | timag-in |
| Black | antoleng | matoleng | amantoleng | timoleng |
| Short | antixei | matixei | amantixei | timixei |
| Soft | andufit | madufit | amandufit | dimufit |
| Light (of weight) | angkadias | makadias | amangkadias | kimadias |
| Slippery..... | angalutoi | mangalutoi | amangalutoi | ngimulutoi |
| Bashful | angbabaing | mabaing | amanbabaing | bimaeng |
| White..... | amputi | maputi | amanputi | pimuti |
| Wet | ambasa | mabasa | amabasa | abasa |
| Hot | ampetang ¹ | mapetang ¹ | amanpetang ¹ | pimetang |
| Bad | akotai | makotai | amakotai | kimotai |
| Crooked..... | atexong | matexong | amatexong | timexong |
| Alive..... | abiag | mabiag | amabiag | bimiag |
| Sick with rinderpest. | apesté | mapesté | | pineste |
| Turbid | akilot | makilot | amangkilot | kimilot |
| Strong | maxatsang | angkatsang | amangkatsang | kimetsang |
| Dry | mag-an | mamag-an | amamag-an | amagan |
| Fat | mataba | antaba | amantaba | timaba |
| Good..... | mapteng | ampeteng | amanpeteng | pimteteng |

¹ The *e* is scarcely audible—*amp'tang*, etc. (P., puetang, heat).

Adjectives are given a negative sense with the help of the particle *ag*. For example: *Ag-an-tárem*, not sharp, blunt; *ag-adúum*, not ripe, unripe, etc.

An adjective is intensified in meaning by the use of the expression *na chile* or *nga chile*, thus: *Ampetang*, warm; *ampetang na chile*, very warm.

Comparison is expressed as follows: *Chi amin á balci*, of all the houses; *saidiai e ampetang* or *saidiai e ampetang na chile*, this is the warm one (or the warmest).

THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE

Examples

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Bado iai a balci.</i> | This house is new. |
| <i>Sadiai e badong balci.</i> | This here is the new house. |
| <i>Itúchom saxci a bado a balci.</i> | Show me a new house. |
| <i>Ticai kaanan ne badong balci?</i> | Where is the site of the new house? |
| <i>Chinan e badong balci?</i> | Which is the new house? |
| <i>Sepai e makabalci niai?</i> ¹ | Who is the owner of this house? |
| <i>Bado da iai a balci; niman achuan.</i> | This house was new; now it is old. |
| <i>Adufok iman a balci.</i> | That house is rotten. |
| <i>Dimufok iman a balci.</i> | That house has become rotten. |
| <i>Naka aman dagá ne saxci a balci.</i> | I am building a house. |
| <i>Guara anan era ne saxci a balci abadeg</i> <i>tan saxci a ootik.</i> | They have a large house and a small one. |
| <i>Anchi balci-to.</i> | He has no house. |
| <i>Anchi balci-to?</i> | Has he no house? |
| <i>Anchi.</i> | He has none. |
| <i>Guara.</i> | He has. |
| <i>Anchi abadeg a balci.</i> | } There is no big house. |
| <i>Anchi saxci a balci abadeg.</i> | |
| <i>Aligoang abadeg e balci.</i> | The house is not big. |
| <i>Guara balci-to.</i> | Has he a house? |
| <i>Guara'd balci-to?</i> | Is he in his house? |
| <i>Guara era'd balci-to?</i> | Are they in his house? |
| <i>Guara's aman chi balci-to?</i> | Is your father in his house? |
| <i>Guara.</i> | He is. |
| <i>Anchi.</i> | He is not. |
| <i>Guara anan balci-mo abadeg?</i> | Have you a big house? |
| <i>Pian ko tumkalen suta balci dya ootik.</i> | I wish to buy that small house (that house which is small). |
| <i>Atoleng e kabad yok.</i> | My horse is black. |
| <i>Amputi e kabad yo-to.</i> | His horse is white. |
| <i>Abateg e taad-ko.</i> | My knife is large. |
| <i>Oótik e taad-to.</i> | His knife is small. |
| <i>Matáchim e taad-to.</i> | His knife is sharp. |
| <i>Taad-to ni Kuan ag-antárem.</i> | John's knife is dull (Lit.: Knife his of John is dull). |
| <i>Acháan e abong-me.</i> | Our hut is old. |

¹ *Niai* (*ne iai*), genitive of *iai*, this.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Bado e balci-mo.</i> | Your house is new. |
| <i>Oótik e balci-cha.</i> | Their houses are small. |
| <i>Abateg e balci-cha.</i> | Their houses are large. |
| <i>Ináktelak.</i> | I am cold. |
| <i>Ináktel-ka nuntan.</i> | You were cold. |
| <i>Sikáto maktél asaném.</i> | He will be cold. |
| <i>Ampetáng-ak.</i> | I am warm. |
| <i>Ampetáng-ka nuntan.</i> | You were warm. |
| <i>Sikáto ampetáng asanem.</i> | He will be warm. |
| <i>Akayáng-ak.</i> | I am tall. |
| <i>Akayáng-ka nuntan.</i> | You were tall. |
| <i>E anak makayáng ammo</i> (seemingly). | The boy will be tall. |
| <i>Akayáng e kíou.</i> | The tree is tall. |
| <i>Akayáng e kabadyo.</i> | The horse is high. |
| <i>Akayáng e balei.</i> | The house is high. |
| <i>Akayáng e bato.</i> | The rock is high. |
| <i>Malagua e balei.</i> | The house is large. |
| <i>Oótik e balei.</i> | The house is small. |
| <i>Ambánao e kadábong.</i> | The hat is large. |
| <i>Akayáng é tíid</i> (the steep). | The hill is high. |
| <i>Antíxe e tíid.</i> | The hill is low. |
| <i>Akayáng e chuntuk.</i> | The mountain is high. |
| <i>Oótik e chuntuk.</i> | The mountain is low. |

THE PRONOUN

PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE

Genders are not distinguished by different forms. The personal pronoun appears in two forms:

INDEPENDENT FORMS

(1) The independent forms, which can be used by themselves alone to designate the corresponding persons:

| Form | First person | Second person | Third person |
|----------------|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Singular ----- | sikak | sikam | sikáto |
| Plural ----- | {sikame (exclusive) sikatayo (inclusive)} | {sikayo | {sikara ¹ sí era |

¹ P., sikara.

The difference between *sikame* and *sikatayo* consists in that the latter includes besides the speaker and his party the party addressed, while the former excludes the party addressed. Accordingly *sikame* will be heard, for instance, in a respectful report to a superior; *sikatayo*, on the contrary, in familiar talk among equals. The same propriety in speaking is found in Ilocano, Tagalog, etc., but is especially noteworthy among Igorot who otherwise address everybody, high or low, with *sikam* (thou), after the fashion of the Tyrolese mountaineers.

These pronouns form the genitive with *nan* and the dative with *sun*. Thus: *Nan sikam*, *sun sikáto*, etc.; *si era*, however, drops the *si* in these cases: *Nan era*, *sun era*. From the following examples it will be seen that the pronoun carries with it, like the noun and the adjective, the meaning of “to be:”

Examples

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Sikak e makaamta.</i> | I am the one who takes care (of the thing spoken about). |
| <i>Sepai e angidai nai?</i> | Who brought this? |
| <i>Sikame.</i> | We (did). |
| <i>Insasko sun sikáto.</i> | I have seen him. |
| <i>Ubing ko si era.</i> | They are my servants. |
| <i>Sepai sikam?</i> | Who are you? |

FORMS USED ONLY IN COMPOSITION

(2) The forms used only joined to other words, the monosyllabic pronouns thus becoming all but affixes:

| Form | First person | Second person | Third person |
|----------|--|---------------|--------------|
| Singular | ak ¹ | ka | to |
| Plural | {kame (exclusive) tayo (inclusive)} | {kayo | era |

¹Sometimes also *nak* or *na*, apparently for euphonic reasons.

The pronouns given in this table can, in the first place, be used, with the exception of *to*, in the way shown by the following examples:

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Igudut-ak</i> | I am Igorot. | <i>Piga kayo?</i> | How many are you? |
| <i>Abiteg-ak</i> | I am poor. | <i>Sampulo kame</i> | We are ten. |
| <i>Ambulat-ka</i> | You are heavy. | <i>Bakwang era</i> | They are rich. |

With a verbal form they are used as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>Mangan-ak</i> | } I eat. ¹ | <i>Mangan kame</i> | } We eat. |
| <i>Nak-mangan</i> | | <i>Kame mangan</i> | |
| <i>Mangan-ka</i> | } Thou eatest. | <i>Mangan tayo</i> | |
| <i>Ka-mangan</i> | | <i>Tayo mangan</i> | |
| <i>Mangan-to</i> | } He eats. | <i>Mangan kayo</i> | } You eat. |
| <i>To-mangan</i> | | <i>Kayo mangan</i> | |
| | | <i>Mangan era</i> | } They eat. |
| | | <i>Era mangan</i> | |

POSSESSIVE PARTICLES

The possessive pronoun is represented by the genitive of the last-mentioned forms:

¹In this instance, as well as everywhere in these notes, I use the English present tense, which colloquially stands also for the future, for what appears to be an equally ambiguous Nabaloi tense.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXII. IBALOI WOMEN ON RESTING PLATFORM AT DWELLING.

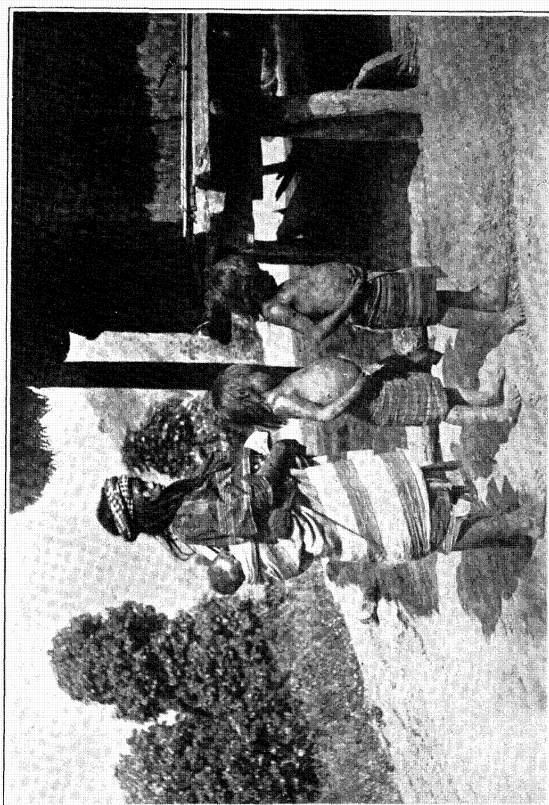


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXIII. IBALOI WOMAN CARRYING BABE.

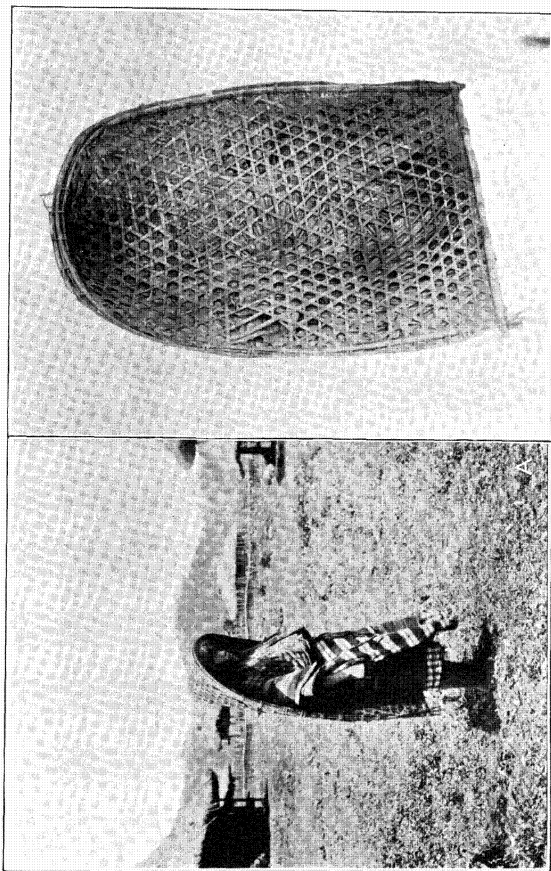


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXIV. BALOI RAIN PROTECTOR.

(A) Protector hung on head; it is placed horizontally when in use. (B) Inside view.



PLATE LXXV. TATTOO ON ARM OF IBALOI GIRL.

Photo by Worcester.

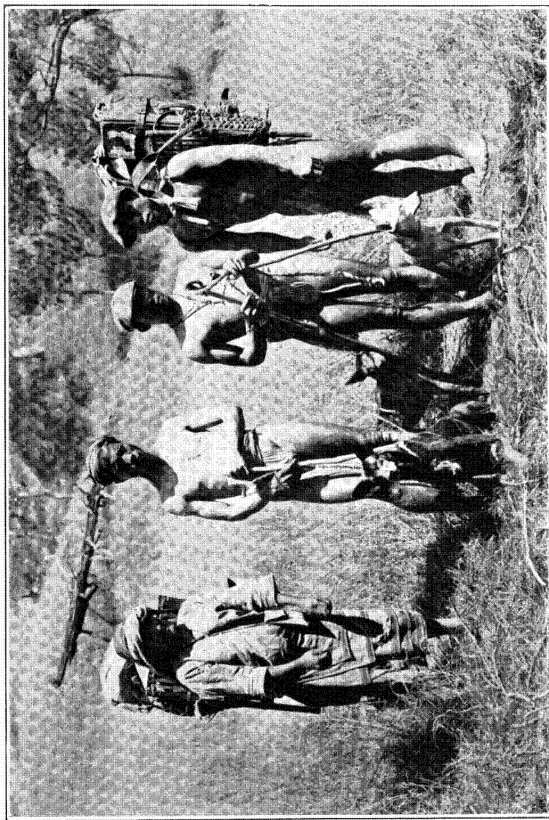


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXXVI. IBALOI CARRIERS. WOMAN AND ONE MAN WITH CARRYING FRAME (CHA-GI).

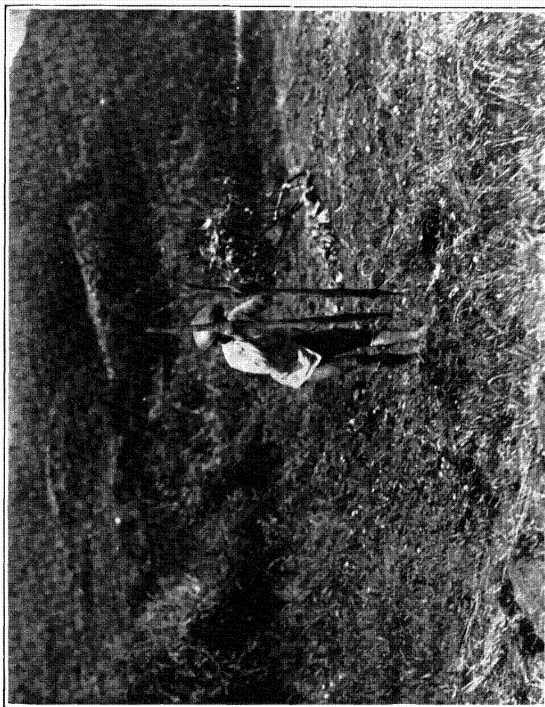


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXVII. IBALOI MAN TURNING SOIL FOR PLANTING.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXVIII. IBALOI WOMAN WITH CARRYING BASKET (KA-YA-BANG) ON HER BACK;
SUPPORTING CORD (A-FID) PASSES OVER CROWN OF HEAD.



Photo by Worcester. PLATE LXXIX. IBALOI WOMAN TRANSPORTING RICE IN KA-YA-BANG.

| Form | Nominative | Genitive possessive particles |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| First person singular | ak, nak, ¹ na ¹ | ko ('k), ² na, ¹ ta ¹ |
| First person plural | kame, tayo | me, tayo |
| Second person singular | ka | mo ('m) ² |
| Second person plural | kayo | dyo |
| Third person singular | to | to |
| Third person plural | era ³ | cha, ⁴ ra |

¹ Used with verbal forms only.² Used as suffix to nouns ending in *a*, *i*, *o*, or *u*.³ P., *ira*.⁴ I. and P., *da*.

The application of these possessive particles will be seen from the following examples:

(a) With noun substantive terminating in *a*, *i*, *o*, or *u*—

| | | | |
|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ama-k</i> | My father | <i>Ina-m</i> | Thy mother |
| <i>Baro-k</i> | My shirt | <i>Sadi-m</i> | Thy foot |
| <i>Asu-k</i> | My dog | <i>Apo-m</i> | Thy grandfather |
| <i>Agi-k</i> | My brother | <i>Sagu-m</i> | Thy comb |

Terminating otherwise—

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Bantai-ko</i> | My guard | <i>Chalan-me</i> | Our road (s) |
| <i>Bukdou-ko</i> | My neck | <i>Sudat-me</i> | Our letter (s) |
| <i>Tafei-ko</i> | My rice wine | <i>Balei-me</i> | Our house (s) |
| <i>Budai-mo</i> | Thy land | <i>Toktok-dyo</i> | Your heads |
| <i>Chifle-mo</i> | Thy rifle | <i>Sangkap-dyo</i> | Your hand spades |
| <i>Suan-mo</i> | Thy stick | <i>Kóbal-dyo</i> | Your loincloths |
| <i>Bidin-to</i> | His order | <i>Kabadyo-cha</i> | } Their horse (s) |
| <i>Katap-to</i> | His cloak | <i>Kabadyo-ra</i> | |
| <i>Guanet-to</i> | His rope | <i>Paltoq-cha</i> | Their guns |

| Possessive | My hands | My feet |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| My | dimak; or, more idiomatic, saidiai chua'n (these two hands of mine) | sadik; or, more idiomatic, saidiai chua'n sadik |
| Your (singular) | dimam; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n diman (those two hands of yours) | sadim, or suta chua'n sadim |
| His (or her) | dima-to; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n dima-to | sadi-to, or suta chua'n sadi-to |
| Our (your and my) | dima tayo | sadi táyo |
| Our (his and my) | dima-me | sadi-me |
| Our (your, plural, and my) | dima tayo | sadi táyo |
| Our (their and my) | dima-me | sadi-me |
| Your (dual) | dima-dyo chua | sadi-dyo chua |
| Their (dual) | dima-cha'n chua | sadi-cha'n chua |
| Your (plural) | dima-dyo | sadi-dyo |
| Their (plural) | dima-cha | sadi-cha |

| Possessive | My horse | My dog | My ox |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| My ----- | kabadyok | asuk | bakak a kafon ¹ |
| Your (singular) ----- | kabadyom | asum | bakam a kafon |
| His (or her) ----- | kabadyo-to | asu-to | baka-to a kafon |
| Our (your and my) ----- | kabadyo-tayo | asu-tayo | baka tayo a kafon |
| Our (his and my) ----- | kabadyo-me | asu-me | baka-me a kafon |
| Our (your, plural, and my) ----- | kabadyo-tayo | asu-tayo | baka tayo a kafon |
| Our (their and my) ----- | kabadyo-me | asu-me | baka-me a kafon |
| Your (dual) ----- | kabadyo-dyo'n chua | asu-dyo'n chua | baka-dyo'n chua a kafon |
| Their (dual) ----- | kabadyo cha'n chua | asu-cha'n chua | baka-cha'n chua a kafon |
| Your (plural) ----- | kabadyo-dyo | asu-dyo | baka-dyo a kafon |
| Their (plural) ----- | kabadyo-cha | asu-cha | baka-cha a kafon |

¹ Corr. Sp., capon.

Our grandfather's house: *Balei ne ápo-me* or *balei nan ápo-me* or *balei ápo-me*.

(b) With verbal forms (verbal forms have the nature of nouns; see under "Roots and particles," also under "The verb")—

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Pian-ko</i> | I like (want, wish). | <i>Pian-me</i> | We like. |
| <i>Pian-mo</i> | Thou likest. | <i>Pian-dyo</i> | You like. |
| <i>Pian-to</i> | He likes. | <i>Pian-cha</i> | They like. |
| <i>Inguaxat-ko</i> ¹ <i>panak</i> | I lost my bow. | <i>Inket-ko sadik</i> | I cut my foot. |
| <i>Inguaxat-mo átak-mo</i> | You lost your cleaver (bolo). | <i>Inket-mo sadim</i> | You cut your foot. |
| <i>Inguaxat-to panu-to</i> | He lost his arrow. | <i>Inket-to sadi-to</i> | He cuts his foot. |

He stole *He killed*

| | | | |
|-----------|--|---------|---|
| My horse | <i>Kinibot-to</i> ² <i>kabadyok</i> . | My dog | <i>Binu-to</i> ³ <i>asuk</i> . |
| Thy horse | <i>Kinibot-to kabadyom</i> . | Thy dog | <i>Binu-to asum</i> . |
| His horse | <i>Kinibot-to kabadyoto</i> . | His dog | <i>Binu-to asu-to</i> . |

They stole *They killed*

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Our horses | <i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-me</i> . | Our dogs | <i>Binu-cha asu-me</i> . |
| Your horses | <i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-dyo</i> . | Your dogs | <i>Binu-cha asu-dyo</i> . |
| Their horses | <i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-ra</i> . | Their dogs | <i>Binu-cha asu-cha</i> . |

By altering in any of these sentences the order of the words and adding the article to the verbal form the character of noun latent in the verbal form becomes more manifest:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Pian-ko tafei</i> | I like rice wine. |
| <i>Tafei e pian-ko</i> | Rice wine is my desire. |
| <i>Sadik e inket-ko</i> | My foot is the part I cut (not my hand). |
| <i>Asuk e binu-to tau kabadyok e kinibot-to</i> | My dog was the object of his killing and my horse the object of his stealing. |

The pronoun may also precede the verbal form. This is heard especially in short sentences like—

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Mo-ala!</i> | Bring! (imp.) | <i>Me-insas</i> | We have seen. |
| <i>Ka-asas!</i> | Look! | <i>Dyo-ibaaq</i> | Ask! (plur. imp.) |
| <i>To-inda</i> | He has taken (it). | <i>Cha-bunuin</i> | They are going to kill. |

¹ From *inguaxat*, to lose. ² From *kitabotin*, to steal. ³ From *bunuin*, to kill.

Note also place of pronoun in negative forms:

| | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ak-ko-pían</i> | I don't like. | <i>Ak-ak-ámta</i> | } I don't know. |
| | | <i>Tagoci, kak-ámta</i> | |

DUAL PERSONAL PRONOUN

The personal pronoun *kita* requires special mention. It comprehends the first and second persons, "thou and I," together. It has no independent form like those given at the beginning of this chapter, and it can not be construed with *nan* or *sun*. Its possessive case is the same as the nominative and can not be employed with other nouns than those represented by verbal forms.

Examples

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>Andao kita chi Mamida,</i> | Thou and I go to Manila. |
| <i>Abiteg kita,</i> | Thou and I are poor. |
| <i>Cha kita kapan kalbiga,</i> | } They are beating thee and me. |
| <i>Cha kapan kalbiga sum sikatayo,</i> | |
| <i>Insas-cha sum sikatayo,</i> | They have seen us. |
| <i>Balei tayo,</i> | Our house (thine and mine). |
| <i>Bumim kita iai a baka,</i> | Thou and I will kill this cow. |

For further examples of the use of all personal pronouns with verbal forms see tables under “The verb.”

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Number and gender are not distinguished by different forms.

The following is a comparative list of the Nabaloi demonstrative pronouns and those of the Ilocano and Pangasinan languages. I add also for comparison the words for "here," "there," "now," and "before," as the remoteness both in space and in time seems to govern the use of these pronouns, though I can not give precisely the finer shades in the respective meanings of each:¹

| English | Ilocano | Pangasinan | Nabaloi |
|----------------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| This | daitoi, itoi | sayan | saidiai (sadi'ai), iai |
| That | detai, daita, itai, ita | sutan | sutan, sutan, itan |
| That (farther away) | daidiai, idiai | saman | saman, iman |
| Here | ditoi | dia | chiai, diai, sadi'ai ¹ |
| There | dita, idiai | ditan | chitan ('d'tan) ¹ |
| There (farther away) | sadi'ai | diman | chiman ('d'man) ¹ |
| Now | ita | natan | niman |
| Before | {itai koa idi koa | }niman | nuntan |

¹ See under "Adverbs and adverbial expressions."

The demonstrative pronoun used adjectively precedes the noun and is coupled with it by the particle *a*. Besides *sutan* there exists the form *suta*, which is used without the copula *a* and in the manner of a definite

Examples

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Iai a balci.</i> | This house (these houses). |
| <i>Balci iai.</i> | This is a house (these are houses). |
| <i>Saidiai a bato.</i> | This stone here. |
| <i>Satan a aso.</i> | That dog. |
| <i>Kiu sutan.</i> | That is wood. |
| <i>Akotai itan.</i> | That is bad. |
| <i>Saman a too.</i> | That person. |
| <i>Iman a sudat.</i> | That letter. |
| <i>Amputi e aso ni iai¹ a aanak.</i> | The dog of this boy is white. |
| <i>Inaxan ko sun iman a too.</i> | I have given (it) to that man. |
| <i>Imutok to suta Kastil.</i> | That Spaniard (of whom you know) has arrived. |

| | This | That | These |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Man | iai ¹ a too | itan ¹ a too | iai ¹ a too |
| Woman | iai a bii | itan a bii | iai a bii |
| Boy | iai a aanak | itan a aanak | iai a aanak |
| Dog | iai a asu | itan a asu | iai a asu |
| Horse | iai a kabadyo | itan a kabadyo | iai a kabadyo |
| Knife | iai a táad | itan a táad | iai a táad |
| Axe | iai a guasai | itan a guasai | iai a guasai |
| | Those | These two | Those two |
| Man | itan ¹ a too | iai ¹ a chua'n too | itan ¹ a chuan too |
| Woman | itan a bii | iai a chua'n bii | itan a chuan bii |
| Boy | itan a aanak | iai a chua'n aanak | itan a chuan aanak |
| Dog | itan a asu | iai a chua'n asu | itan a chuan asu |
| Horse | itan a kabadyo | iai ¹ a chua'n kabadyo | itan ¹ a chuan kabadyo |
| Knife | itan a táad | iai a chua'n táad | itan a chuan táad |
| Axe | itan a guasai | iai a chua'n guasai | itan a chuan guasai |

¹ Or one of the alternative forms as per table.

TO BE HERE

I am here

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Guara-ak chiai</i> (or <i>diai</i>) | I |
| <i>Guara-ka diai</i> | You |
| <i>Sikam tan sikak guara kita diai</i> | You and I |
| <i>Sikáto guara diai</i> | He |
| <i>Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame diai</i> | He and I |
| <i>Guara kayo'n chua diai</i> | Ye (dual) |
| <i>Guara cra'n chua diai</i> | They (dual) |
| <i>Guara tayo diai</i> | We (ye and I) |
| <i>Guara kame diai</i> | We (they and I) |
| <i>Guara kayo diai</i> | Ye (plural) |
| <i>Guara cra diai</i> | They (plural) |

¹ *Ni iai* or *niai*.

The past tense is expressed by adding at the end of each sentence *nuntan*, meaning “before,” and the future by adding *nem asanem* or *asenem*, meaning “later on.”

TO BE THERE

I am there

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| <i>Guara-ak chiman</i> | I |
| <i>Guara-ka 'd'man</i> | You |
| <i>Sikam tan sikak guara kita 'd'man</i> | You and I |
| <i>Sikáto guara 'd'man</i> | He |
| <i>Sikáto tan sikak guara kame 'd'man</i> | He and I |
| <i>Guara kayo'n chua 'd'man</i> | Ye (dual) |
| <i>Guara cra'n chua chiman</i> | They (dual) |
| <i>Guara tayo 'd'man</i> | We (ye and I) |
| <i>Guara kame 'd'man</i> | We (they and I) |
| <i>Guara kayo 'd'man</i> | Ye (plural) |
| <i>Guara cra 'd'man</i> | They (plural) |

RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun in Nabaloi, representing the English expressions “which is,” “which are,” and serving for both numbers and all genders, is *dya*. The rendering of other English relative constructions will be gathered from the following idiomatic expressions:

Examples

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Suta balci dya ootik.</i> | That house which is small. |
| <i>E too dya dimaga náai a balci, atci da.¹</i> | The man who built this house is dead. |
| <i>Inamtik e kabadyo dya tinumkal-ko.²</i> | The horse which I bought has run away. |
| <i>Ibaag-mo sun sikak suta ingkuan-to.³</i> | Tell me what he said. |
| <i>Suta kin dya inasak-ko amanbadeg siged.⁴</i> | The tree that I planted is growing well. |
| <i>Angken sepai e dimaga baichan-to.⁵</i> | Whoever did it shall pay for it. |
| <i>Angken ngaramto e basul mo, ikuan-mo.⁶</i> | Whatever your fault, tell it. |
| <i>Ag-ak-inaxang suta kuan-to.⁷</i> | I do not believe what he says. |
| <i>Bunúin-ko suta too'n⁸ kinibot kabad'yok.⁹</i> | I will kill the man who stole my horse. |
| <i>Pangkabad'yóan-ko suta anabui nan too.¹⁰</i> | I will ride the horse that threw the man. |

For few, many, all, some, both, no, other, see under “Noun.”

¹ Lit.: The person which was-builder of this house, dead already.

² Lit.: Has-run-away the horse which was-purchase mine.

³ Lit.: Information thine to me that-which was-say his.

⁴ Lit.: That tree which was-object-of-planting mine is-becoming great well.

⁵ Lit.: Even who the was-doer will-be-payment his.

⁶ Lit.: Even name-its the fault thine, be-say thine.

⁷ Lit.: Not-I-believe that-which is-say his.

⁸ The 'n here affixed to *too* must be a mutilated copula *na*: I, a: iti tao á natai, the man who died; T., tawó 'ng makasalanán, a sinful man

⁹ Lit.: Object of killing mine that man who stole horse mine.

¹⁰ Lit.: I-am-going-to use-as-horse mine that-which was-thrower of person.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The use of interrogative pronouns and of interrogative adverbs is illustrated in the following examples:

WHO? *Sepa?* or *Sepai?*

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| <i>Sepa iman</i> (or <i>sepa'man</i>)? | Who is that? |
| <i>Sepai sikam?</i> | Who are you? |
| <i>Sepa 'man</i> (or <i>iman</i>)? | Who is that person? |
| <i>Sepai diai a dazi?</i> | Who is this man? |

WHEN? *Pigan?* or *Kapigan?*

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Pigan e idao mo?</i> | When do you go? |
| <i>Kapigan e imugao cha?</i> | When did they arrive? |

HOW MUCH? HOW MANY? *Piga?* or *Pigai?*

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Piga imbayad mo?</i> | How much did you pay? |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|

WHERE? *Túa?* or *Twái?*

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Twái daguan mo?</i> | Where are you going? |
|------------------------|----------------------|

WHAT? *Dyano?* (only as a single interjection)

Ngaramto? (Lit.: Its name.)

Ngaramtoi?

Ngantoi?

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Ngaramtoi mo kapan dagá?</i> | What are you doing? |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|

WHICH? *Chinan?* *Twái?* *Túa?*

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>Twái chalan tayo?</i> | Which is our road? |
| <i>Chinan kabadyo?</i> | } Which is your horse? |
| <i>Twái (túa) kabadyo?</i> | |
| <i>Twái paseng náai?</i> | } Which is the way to do this? |
| | |
| <i>Twái kabadyo dya tinumkal-mo?</i> | } How is this done? |
| <i>Chinan e kabadyo'n tinumkal-mo?</i> | |
| | } Which horse (or horses) have you |
| | |
| | } bought? |
| | |

WHY? *Ngaramto?* *Ngaramtoi?*

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Ngaramtoi imaxad-ka?</i> | Why did you go? |
| <i>Ngaramto ag-mo-angánan?</i> | Why did you not eat? |
| <i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anginóman?</i> | Why did you not drink? |
| <i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo?</i> | Why did you not go home? |
| <i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo kabuasan?</i> | Why did you not go home yesterday? |
| <i>Ngaramto ag-mo anumkalan saxei a kabadyo nem guara-ka chi Guasington?</i> | Why did you not buy a horse when you were in Washington? |

Bearing in mind the existence in Nabaloi of the special prefix *maka*, to denote ownership, it is but natural that our query "Whose house is this?" should in that dialect be: "Who is the owner of this house?"

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Sepai makabalci nai?</i> | Whose house is this? |
| <i>Sepai makaasu nai?</i> | Whose dog is this? |
| <i>Sepai makatáad nai?</i> | Whose knife is this? |
| <i>Sepai makakadubong nai?</i> | Whose hat is this? |

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

A list of the more common adverbs follows with examples illustrating their use and showing also how some English adverbs are rendered:

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Siged</i> | Well | <i>Mapangdu</i> | Being the first |
| <i>Istayan</i> | Nearly, all but | <i>Manunt</i> | Being the last |
| <i>Ingis-to</i> | Likewise | <i>Totógua</i> | In truth |
| <i>Na chile or nga chile</i> | Very | <i>Sigucho</i> (Sp., se- guro) | Surely |
| <i>Ootik</i> | A little | | |
| <i>Múan</i> | Again | <i>Numan, ngo</i> | Also |
| <i>Niman</i> | Now, to-day | <i>Ag-da</i> | No more, no longer |
| <i>Kachiman</i> | Yesterday | <i>Ag</i> | Not |
| <i>Kachiman sa.xei</i> | The day before yesterday | <i>Ūn, ōn</i> | Yes |
| | | <i>Tinaoen</i> | Yearly |
| <i>Nuntan</i> | Before | <i>Anchi</i> | No |
| <i>Abayag da</i> | Long ago | <i>Chiai¹ diai</i> | Here |
| <i>Asanem or nem</i> | Later | <i>Chiman¹</i> | } There |
| <i>asanem</i> | | <i>'d'man</i> | |
| <i>Akai or nem akai</i> | Afterwards | <i>Chitan¹</i> | |
| <i>Sabadin akou</i> | Some other day | <i>'d'tan</i> | |
| <i>Aneng</i> | Not yet | <i>Chi inaidaem</i> | Within |
| <i>Inaichem</i> | In the afternoon | <i>Chi daspág</i> | Below |
| <i>Kalbán</i> | Last night | <i>Chi inaitapou</i> | On top |
| <i>Kabuasan palba-</i> | To-morrow early | <i>Chi inakayang</i> | Above |
| <i>ngun</i> | | <i>Chi inaidúung</i> | Underneath |
| <i>Suta taón da</i> | Last year | <i>Chi inaiáskang</i> | Alongside |
| <i>Suta bulan alí</i> | Next month | <i>Chi inaidingeb</i> | Behind |
| <i>Inakou</i> | Daily | <i>Chi inaikawa</i> | In the middle |
| <i>Binudan</i> | Monthly | <i>Chi piüg</i> | On the other side |
| <i>Angken pigau</i> | Whenever, always | <i>Bingad</i> | Only |
| <i>Angken ngaramto e</i> | Anyhow | <i>Sñya</i> | Yes (emphatic). |
| <i>paseng</i> | | | "It is so, as I say (impatiently)" |
| <i>Angken twái</i> | Wherever | | |
| <i>Kabuasan</i> | To-morrow | <i>Singa</i> | So as, in the same way as |
| <i>Buasto</i> | The day after to- morrow | <i>Aligou</i> | A negation con- taining a refer- enceto something different |
| <i>Buasto sa.xei</i> | The second day after to-morrow | | |
| <i>Achaxel</i> | Much | | |
| <i>Angsan</i> | Too much | | |

¹ *Chiai*, *chiman*, and *chitan* are composed of the particle *chi* (in, to, toward), which is the Pangasinan *ed* and the Kankanaí *di*, and *iai*, *inam*, and *itan*, respectively. They, as well as the nine other adverbs beginning with *chi*, for euphonic reasons often change this *chi* after a vowel into *d'*, which is then pronounced as a suffix to the preceding word. For instance: *Tokala 'd'iai*, come here; *guara 'd'man*, it is there; *guara ammo'd' daspag*, it seems to be below.

Examples

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Papaseng-mo siged.</i> | Do (it) well. |
| <i>Istayan-ak atei.</i> | I was on the point of dying. |
| <i>Kanuim ali.</i> | Come here quickly. |
| <i>Ingis-to e dinkan-to.</i> | He did it the same way. |
| <i>Ampetang nga chile.</i> | It is very hot. |
| <i>Kaadyam ootik.</i> | Lift it up a little. |
| <i>Ibagán-mo muan.</i> | Ask again. |
| <i>Insas-ko niman.</i> | I saw it now. |
| <i>Inamtak nuntan.</i> | I knew it before. |
| <i>Andao-ak nem akai.</i> | I shall go later on. |
| <i>Kachiman imutok-to.</i> | He arrived yesterday. |
| <i>Balei-mo iai?</i> | Is this your house? |
| <i>Aligoa.</i> | It is not so; it is a different one. |
| <i>Aligoa'n iai.</i> | It is not this, but a different one. |
| <i>Aligoa'n balei-ko.</i> | It is not my house (but that of some-body else). |
| <i>Aligoa'n kinibot-ko binaánes-ko.</i> | I did not steal it; I borrowed it. |
| <i>Adibaien-ta-ka nem kabuasan.</i> | I shall visit you to-morrow. |
| <i>Tokala diai.</i> | Come here. |
| <i>Andao-ka 'd'man.</i> | Go there. |
| <i>Anchi chanum chiai.</i> | There is no water here. |
| <i>Isumanan-mo angken chiman.</i> | You may put it there. |
| <i>Achazel e inagwat-to.</i> | He has received much. |
| <i>Ootik bingad e insas-ko.</i> | I saw only a little. |
| <i>Angsan numan sutan.</i> | That is indeed too much. |
| <i>Sikáto atei a totógua.</i> | He is really dead. |
| <i>Ingkuan-ko ngo.</i> | I have said (so) also. |
| <i>Mapangdu iai.</i> | This comes first. |
| <i>Naámut era.</i> | They came last. |
| <i>Aneng imugao-cha.</i> | They have not yet arrived. |
| <i>Agda aman-sakit.</i> | (He is) no longer sick. |
| <i>Ag-ka mampapaádek.</i> | Don't you gamble; never gamble. |
| <i>Angken pigan ag ali aman-aadibai.</i> | (He) never comes visiting (me). |

PREPOSITIONS

The following examples show the idiomatic rendering in Nabaloi of English sentences containing prepositions. Where Nabaloi prepositions occur they are printed in boldface type:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Andao-ak chi Benguet.</i> | I go to Benguet. |
| <i>Andao kita 'd Benguet.</i> | Let us two go to Benguet. |
| <i>Insas-ta kayo nan Kuan.</i> | I saw you with John. (Lit.: Of John.) |
| <i>Sepai e inudup-mo?</i> | With whom did you go? (Lit.: Who was your companion?) |
| <i>Era-ka-aman-bakal ne Kastil.</i> | They are fighting against the Spaniards. (Lit.: They are being fighters of the Spaniards.) |
| <i>Na-kapan-asa sutan angkad diai.</i> | I am seeing that from here. |
| <i>Ama-dungaiad' man e padok.</i> | The river is visible from there. |

| | |
|--|---|
| Chi <i>balei-ko angkad balei-mo inai-aragui.</i> | It is far from my house to your house. |
| <i>E too inanbag-to chi kiu.</i> | The man is standing on a log. |
| <i>Isuman e táad-ko chi palteng-ko.</i> ¹ | I will put my knife in my pocket. |
| <i>Isuman-mo e táad-mo chi palteng-mo asanem.</i> | You will put your knife in your pocket. |
| <i>Isuman-ko e kadubong-ko chi damisáan.</i> | I will put my hat on the table. |
| <i>To-kapan-idúung kadubong-to chi damisáan.</i> | He is putting his hat under the table. |
| <i>Kimneng e maxauas chi dóot.</i> | The deer is standing in the bushes. |
| <i>Sai balei-ko guara chi Bagio.</i> | I live at Baguio. |
| <i>Sai balei-ko guara chi Bagio nuntan.</i> | I lived at Baguio. |
| <i>E báres moókíp chi kin.</i> | The monkey lives (Lit.: Sleeps) in a tree. |
| <i>Sai kauanán ne maxauas guara chi chuntuk.</i> | The deer lives in the woods. |
| <i>Era-ka-ama-múul e adet chi Pias.</i> | They are burning off the grass in Pias. |
| <i>Anchi mapteng sun sikara angken saxei.</i> | There is not even one good (man) among them. |
| <i>Saidiai e cha-kapan sungura.</i> | They are coming toward here. |
| <i>Pabaanes-ka iai angkad kabuasan.</i> | I lend this (to you) till to-morrow. |
| <i>Kiu ne balei-ko iai.</i> | This timber is for my house. |
| <i>Sudat-mo iai.</i> | This letter is for you (this is your letter). |
| <i>Nem ag sikam, ikak-andao.</i> | If (it were) not (for) you, I (would) not go. |
| <i>Pinilit-ko.</i> | I did (it) by force. |
| <i>Dagen-ko kompolme</i> (Sp., conforme) <i>e ingkuan-mo.</i> | I shall do according to your words. |
| <i>Ag mabadiñ na mangan nem ag manubda.</i> | One can not eat without working. (Lit.: If not work.) |
| <i>Saad-to e pinantabtabal-me.</i> | We are talking about his office. (Lit.: His office (is) the topic of us.) |
| <i>Taad e impandagak.</i> | I did it with a knife. (Lit.: Knife was my instrument in working.) |
| <i>E balei guara inaiáskang chi padok.</i> ² | The house is by the river. |
| To be idiomatic this must be rendered: | |
| <i>Isuman-cha e balei inaiáskang chi padok.</i> (They will put the house by the river.) | The house will be by the river. |
| <i>E balei guara inaiáskang chi padok nuntan.</i> | The house was by the river. |
| <i>E kin akaldiap chi chanum.</i> | Wood floats in the water. |
| <i>E báto dimáned chi chanum.</i> | A stone sinks in the water. |
| <i>E pallog dimáned chi chanum.</i> | A gun sinks in the water. |
| <i>E panag akaldiap chi chanum.</i> | An arrow floats on the water. |
| <i>Andao kame nan Kuan chi Guasington.</i> ³ | I will go to Washington with John. |
| <i>Andao kame nan ámak chi Guasington.</i> | I will go to Washington with my father. |

¹As Igorot have no pockets in the loin cloth and cloak which form their tribal costume I have rendered "pocket" by *palteng*, which is a small wickerwork basket hung over the shoulder and that takes all little odds and ends of everyday use. Occasionally things are also put away by wrapping them into the folds of the loin cloth, an action which is called *ibátong*.

²Idiomatic: *Twai kaanán ne balei to?* (Where is the site of his house?) *Inaiáskang chi padok e kaanán-tó.* (Its site is near the river.)

³Washington is pronounced by Igorot "Guasington."

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Andao kame nan Kuan</i> chi balei. | I will go home with John. |
| <i>Mapangdu-ak dya anaxat</i> sun ámak chi balei. | I will go home before my father. (Lit.: I am going to be the first who goes with relation to my father to house.) |
| <i>Manúnud-ak dya anaxat</i> sun Kuan chi balei. | I will go home after John. (Lit.: I am going to be the last who goes with relation to John to house.) |
| <i>Manúnud-ak dya anaxat</i> sun ámak chi balei. | I will go home after my father. |
| <i>Ibaag-ko sun kapitan maipoon ne baka.</i> | I will speak to the headman about the cows. |

He is on the horse

| | |
|---------|------------------------------|
| Is | <i>Inankabadyo-to</i> |
| Was | <i>Inankabadyo-to nuntan</i> |
| Will be | <i>Mangkabadyo-to asanem</i> |

The hat is on the table

| | |
|---------|--|
| Is | <i>E kadubong guara</i> chi damisáan |
| Was | <i>E kadubong guara</i> chi damisáan nuntan |
| Will be | <i>E kadubong guara</i> chi damisáan asanem |

The bow is on the ground

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Bow is | <i>E pana guara</i> chi búdai |
| Arrow was | <i>E pana guara</i> chi búdai nuntan |
| Quiver will be | <i>Suta balei-to ne pana guara</i> chi búdai asanem |

The knife is in my pocket

| | |
|------------|--|
| Is in my | <i>E táad guara</i> chi palteng-ko |
| Was in his | <i>E táad guara</i> chi palteng-ko nuntan |

The horse is on the hill

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Is | <i>E kabadyo guara</i> chi chuntuk |
| Was | <i>E kabadyo guara</i> chi chuntuk nuntan |
| <i>Inaipíril ne báto</i> | By the stone |
| <i>Inaiaskang ne báto</i> | Near the stone |
| <i>Inaitědtěd ne báto</i> | Under the stone |
| <i>Inaitápo ne báto</i> | On the stone |
| <i>Inaipiig ne báto</i> | Beyond the stone |
| Chi inaitápo ne chanum | On the water |
| Chi chanum | In the water |
| Chi inaichálem ne chanum | Under the water |

TO BE IN THE HOUSE

I am in the house

| | |
|-----------|---|
| I | <i>Guara-ak</i> chi balei |
| You | <i>Guara-ka</i> chi balei |
| You and I | <i>Sikam tan sikak, guara kita</i> chi balei |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| He (or she) | <i>Sikáto guara chi balei</i> |
| He and I | <i>Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame chi balei</i> |
| Ye (dual) | <i>Guara kayo chua chi balei</i> |
| They (dual) | <i>Guara era'n chua chi balei. (Also: Sikara'n chua guara chi balei.)</i> |
| We (ye and I) | <i>Guara tayo chi balei</i> |
| We (they and I) | <i>Guara kame chi balei</i> |
| Ye (plural) | <i>Guara kayo chi balei</i> |
| They (plural) | <i>Guara era chi balei</i> |

For the past tense *nuntan* and for the future tense *asanem* or *nem* *asanem* are added at the end of the sentence.

CONJUNCTIONS

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Sikak tan sikam.</i> | I and you. |
| <i>Andao-ak niman tan kabuasan iulik.</i> | I leave to-day and return to-morrow. |
| <i>Angken ikuan-mo ikak-manikan.</i> | Although you say (so), I do not believe it. |
| <i>Angken inap-ko siged ikak-insas.</i> | Although I searched well, I did not see (it). |
| <i>Baichan-mo-ak angken ootik.</i> | Pay me (something), even (if it be) a little. |
| <i>Emenem atei si amam . . .</i> | If (supposing) your father should die . . . |
| Nem <i>pian-mo manudup kita.</i> | If you like, let us go together. |
| Nem <i>anuchan nem kabuasan ikakandao.</i> | If it rains to-morrow I shall not go. |
| Nem <i>asas-ko sazei a maragoas paltogan-ko.</i> | If I see a deer I will shoot it. |
| Nem <i>isikdiat-mo asu kadáten-to-ka.</i> | The dog will bite you if you kick him. |
| Nem <i>anakét kayo anoókip-ak.</i> | I will sleep if you will be still. |
| <i>Anágachak¹ chi balei-ko nem dinabungcha kabad yok.</i> | I will go home when my horse is caught. |
| <i>Siged antungao-ka tap inabdé-ka.</i> | Better sit down because you are tired. |
| <i>Nak-manganúb tap nak-aman-akán.</i> | I am going hunting because I am hungry. |
| <i>Akotai númnum-ko tap mo-ak-sinapdet.</i> | I am angry (Lit.: Bad mind mine) because you struck me. |
| <i>Ikak-pian na mangan tap inab-sel-ak.</i> | I do not want to eat more because I am satisfied. |
| <i>Ipastol-mo e kabad yo chi payou sai antabá.</i> | Pasture the horse in the rice field in order to have it become fat. |
| <i>Ngaramto e dagenan mo so niai?</i> | What do you do that for? |
| <i>Impaaxád-ko sun sikáto ngem² agto-pian angtungpal.</i> | I told him to go away, but he would not obey. |
| <i>Akal makim ta³ machichal.</i> | Do not touch it, lest you break it. |
| Nem <i>makheng e uran angsikit.</i> | After it has finished raining there will be sunshine. |
| <i>Andao kita nem makheng e mangan.</i> | Let us go after having finished our meal. |

¹ *Anágachak*, contraction of *anágad-ak*.

² *Ngem* (but) different from *nem* (if, when).

³ *Tu* I hold to be the same as *tan*, and.

THE VERB

FORMATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF VERBAL FORMS

The Nabaloi verb presents the same fundamental character as the verb of all the other Philippine dialects.

Divesting it of the agglutinated particles we find as kernel the root word, the bare expression of a single idea. Such a root is, for instance, *dag-a*, meaning as well "the work" as "to work," "to do," "to make" (past tense, *dimaga*). With the help of particles the language developed these roots into words with more specific meanings, not by establishing a distinction coinciding precisely with that in English between nouns and verbs but by expressing through special particles the closer relation existing, according to the sense of the speech, between the activity denoted by the root on one side and the performer or the object, the locality, the instrument, etc., of that action on the other side. The words to which these particles have been added and which express this relation are given the character of nouns but they can be modified as to time like verbs.

Thus, from above root *dag-a*, for instance, two forms are obtained:

- (1) With prefix *mang* *mandag-a* The worker, doer, maker.¹
- (2) With suffix *en* *dag-en* The object of doing, making, the work.

The sentence "I make a house" can be doubly expressed:

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------------|--------------|------|--|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>Mandaga-ak</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>saxei a</i> | <i>balei</i> | (or) | <i>Saxei a</i> | <i>balei</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>dagen-ko</i> |
| Maker I | of | a | house | | A | house | the | work of me |
| (Past tense: <i>Nandaga</i> , was maker) | | | | | (Past tense: <i>Dingka</i> , was work) | | | |

The question as to which of these two forms is to be used in any case is decided by the accent the speaker is laying either on the circumstance of his being occupied as one who builds or on the object of his activity, the house, as will be seen from the following questions and answers:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Ngaramto</i> | <i>mandaga</i> | <i>ka?</i> | <i>Mandaga-ak</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>balei</i> |
| What | worker | you? | Worker I | of | house |
| | | | | | |
| <i>Ngaramto</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>dagen</i> | <i>mo?</i> | <i>Balei</i> | <i>e</i> |
| What | the | work | of you? | House | the |
| | | | | <i>dagen</i> | <i>ko</i> |
| | | | | House | the |
| | | | | work | of me |

The manner in which the relation existing between the verbal form and another part of the sentence is accentuated by special particles is illustrated further in the following examples:

Root, *Al-a*, To FETCH²
(Past, *imala*)

¹Or "to be the worker, doer, maker." Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

²*Al-a* has not only the meaning "to fetch" but also the wide and vague one of English "to get" in phrases like "get me a pencil."

Prefix, *mang*:

Sepai e mangala ne kabad'yok? Sikak e mangala
Who the fetcher of horse mine? I the fetcher

(Prefix, *mang*; past, *mangala*)

Suffix, *en*:

Ngaramto e aaden-mo?
What the object of fetching thine?

Kabad'yom e aaden-ko
Horse thine the object of fetching mine

(Prefix, *in*; past, *inda*)

Prefix and suffix, *pang-an*:

Twai e pangalaan-mo ne kiu?
Where the fetching place thine of wood?

Chiman e pangalaan-ko
Over there the fetching place mine

(Infix, *in*; past, *pinangalaan*)

Prefix, *pang*:

*Ngaramto e pangalam ne kiu?*¹
What the instrument of fetching thine of wood

Iai e pangalak
This the instrument of fetching mine

(Infix *in*; past, *pinangala*)

Suffix, *an*:

Sepai e aadan² mo ne tabaco?
Who the supplier thine of tobacco?

*Si Mateo e aadan ko so*³
Mateo the supplier mine of this

Prefix, *in*:

(Past, *indaan*)

This peculiar trait of making use of different verbal forms having the character of nouns to mark the relation existing between the verb and some other part of the sentence, or, in other words, to mark the predominance in a sentence either of the performer or the object, locality, instrument, etc., of the action, clearly shows the relationship of Nabaloi to the other Philippine dialects, all of which have this peculiarity.

It is in keeping with this trait that the performer should be emphasized whenever the object is a more or less indefinite one—for instance, when

¹ More idiomatically, *ngaramto e pangngiu-mo?* Root, *kiu*, wood; *pangngiu*, to use something to cut or fetch wood, also the thing so used.

² The employment in this case of a form with suffix *an*, which denotes locality, is interesting not only because it shows what the natives may conceive as locality at which an action takes place but also because it shows how the English prepositional construction, "From whom do you get your tobacco?" is expressed in Nabaloi.

³ I am not sure that I translate *so* correctly by "of this."

it has the indefinite article. Given the root *bunu*, to kill, “I kill a dog” would be *Mamunu-ak ne saxei a asu* (Lit.: “Killer I of a dog,” present or future), but “I kill this dog” (“this” emphasized) is *Bunuin-ko iai a asu* (Lit.: “Killing object mine this dog,” present or future).¹ In both cases, however, the emphasis can be shifted again by a yet stronger accentuation of the other part:

Saxei a asu e bunuin-ko, aligoa saxei a manok
A dog the killing object mine, not a chicken

And—

Sikak e mamunu niai a asu, aligoa si Kuan
I the killer of this dog, not John

How a stem denoting not an activity but a thing may be given verbal force has already been shown under the heading “Roots and particles.” The following are instances of the verbalization of roots signifying substance with the help of the prefix *mang*: *Kiu*, wood; *mang-ngiu*, to cut or fetch wood; *adet*, grass; *mang-adet*, to cut and fetch grass (for fodder).

ON PARTICLES

The vigor, terseness, and elegance of the Malayan dialects, to which Nabaloi clearly belongs, result from and are proportionate to the treasure they all have of agglutinative particles of various meanings, coupled with the pliancy of the root in admitting such particles. The particles employed in the examples so far quoted are only some of the more usual ones. They may further not be applied at will to any and all roots. In the table following these explanatory remarks will be found the conjugation of the verb “to plant,” *asak*. This verb, to emphasize the object, does not take the suffix *en* or *in* but the prefix *i*, which in this combination signifies the action expressed by the root as executed at or with or with relation to the object in question: *Iasak mo iai a kiu*, “Let this tree be the object at (or with) which you execute the operation of planting;” “plant this tree.”

The manner in which the root as well as the particle may be affected phonetically through the agglutination—that is, their tendency to melt into each other—will already have been noticed in the case of the prefix *mang*, which, as shown, forms *nomina agentis*:

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Before <i>a</i> the prefix <i>mang</i> remains unchanged | <i>mang-ada</i> |
| Before <i>b</i> the <i>ng</i> disappears, having converted the <i>b</i> of the root into <i>m</i> | <i>ma-munu</i> (root, <i>bunu</i>) |
| Before <i>d</i> the <i>ng</i> is reduced to <i>n</i> | <i>man-daga</i> |
| Before <i>k</i> the <i>ng</i> assimilates the <i>k</i> of the root | <i>mang-ngiu</i> (root, <i>kiu</i>) |

I content myself with pointing out these letter changes as they occur in the examples used by me, without attempting to establish any rules.

¹ Compare also *Iai a baka e bunuin ni* (or *nan*) *Kuan*: This cow is John’s killing object.

ON TENSES

In verbal forms like those presented at the beginning of this section (*mandaga*, *dagen*, *mangala*, *aaden*, *pangalaan*, etc.) it is not decided whether the action is to take place now, presently, or at some later time. If this is not to be understood from the sense of the speech it must be made clear by adding such words as *niman*, now; *asanem*, later on; *kabuasan*, to-morrow, etc. The range of this indefinite tense is limited by the existence of only two other tenses:

(1) A continuative, signifying that the action has already begun and is still progressing. This is formed (see the following tables) with *ka-aman* (*ama*) for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and *ka-pan*¹ for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

(2) A past tense, formed with prefix *ang* (*an*, *a*) or *nang* (*nan*, *na*) or *inan*² for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and with prefix or infix *in* (*im*) for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

PARADIGMS

Root, *Bunu*, To KILL

AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka ama-munu | mamunu-ak ¹ | amunu-ak ² |
| Second person singular | Ka-ka ama-munu | mamunu-ka | amunu-ka |
| Third person singular | To-ka ama-munu | mamunu-to | amunu-to |
| First person plural | Kame ka ama-munu | mamunu kame | amunu kame ³ |
| Second person plural... | Kayo ka ama-munu | mamunu kayo | amunu kayo |
| Third person plural ... | Era ka ama-munu | mamunu era | amunu era ⁴ |
| Imperative, <i>mamunu-ka</i> | | | |

¹ Or *nak mamunu*.
² Or *nak amunu*.
³ To avoid cumbersome repetition I given only the exclusive plural; the inclusive plural and the dual are obtained by simply substituting *tayo* or *kita*, respectively, for *kame* or *me* of the paradigm.
⁴ Other forms: *Na-munu-ak*, etc., and *inan-munu-ak*, etc. (past tense of the continuative form).

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-ko ¹ | binuk |
| Second person singular | Mo-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-mo ² | binum |
| Third person singular | To-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-to | bunu-to |
| First person plural | Me-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-me (kame) | binu-me |
| Second person plural... | Dyo-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-dyo | binu-dyo |
| Third person plural ... | Cha-ka-pan-bunua | bunuin-cha | binu-cha |
| Imperative, <i>bunuin-mo</i> | | | |

¹ Though pronounced *bunuin*, the suffix is really *en*, not *in*. ² Also *bunuim* and *bunum*.

¹ These particles *ka-pan* if connected with verbal forms having the suffix *en* or *an* change that suffix into *a*: *ibagin-ko*, my point of inquiry; continuative, *na-ka-pan ibaga*. *Adibaen-ko*, the person visited by me; *na-ka-pan adibaa*. Root, *bugnad*, to shift a horse to another pasture; *bugnaren-ko*, to be the object of such action of mine; continuative, *na-ka-pan bugnara*.
² *Inan* I suspect to be the past of the continuative form *ka-aman*.

THE NABALOI DIALECT

Root, *Asak*, To PLANT
AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka aman asak | manasak-ak | nanasak-ak |
| Second person singular | Ka-ka aman asak | manasak-ka | nanasak-ka |
| Third person singular | To-ka aman asak | manasak-to | nanasak-to |
| First person plural | Kame ka aman asak | manasak kame | nanasak kame |
| Second person plural... | Kayo ka aman asak | manasak kayo | nanasak kayo |
| Third person plural ... | Era ka aman asak | manasak era | nanasak era ¹ |
| Imperative, <i>manasak-ka</i> | | | |

¹ Also *an-asak-ak*, etc., and *inan-asak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-ko | insak-ko |
| Second person singular | Mo-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-mo | insak-mo |
| Third person singular | To-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-to | insak-to |
| First person plural | Me-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-me (kame) | insak-me |
| Second person plural... | Dyo-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-dyo | insak-dyo |
| Third person plural ... | Cha-ka-pan-iasak | iasak-cha | insak-cha ¹ |
| Imperative, <i>iasak-mo</i> | | | |

¹ Also *inasak-ko*, etc.

To CAUSE TO KILL

Root, *Bunu*, To KILL
AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka aman pamunu | mampamunu-ak | nanpamunu-ak |
| Second person singular | Ka-ka aman pamunu | mampamunu-ka | nanpamunu-ka |
| Third person singular | To-ka aman pamunu | mampamunu-to | nanpamunu-to |
| First person plural | Kame ka aman pamunu | mampamunu kame | nanpamunu kame |
| Second person plural... | Kayo ka aman pamunu | mampamunu kayo | nanpamunu kayo |
| Third person plural ... | Era ka aman pamunu | mampamunu era | nanpamunu era ¹ |
| Imperative, <i>mampabunu-ka</i> | | | |

¹ Also *inan pamunu-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka-pabunu | pabunuk | impabunuk |
| Second person singular | Mo-ka-pabunu | pabunum | impabunum |
| Third person singular | To-ka-pabunu | pabunu-to | impabunu-to |
| First person plural | Me-ka-pabunu | pabunu-me | impabunu-me |
| Second person plural... | Dyo-ka-pabunu | pabunu-dyo | impabunu-dyo |
| Third person plural ... | Cha-ka-pabunu | pabunu-cha | impabunu-cha |
| Imperative, <i>pabunum</i> | | | |

To CAUSE TO PLANT
Root, *Asak*, To PLANT
AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka aman paasak | mampaasak-ak | nanpaasak-ak |
| Second person singular | Ka-ka aman paasak | mampaasak-ka | nanpaasak-ka |
| Third person singular... | To-ka aman paasak | mampaasak-to | nanpaasak-to |
| First person plural ---- | Kame ka aman paasak | mampaasak-kame | nanpaasak-kame |
| Second person plural... | Kayo ka aman paasak | mampaasak-kayo | nanpaasak-kayo |
| Third person plural --- | Era ka aman paasak | mampaasak-era | nanpaasak-era ¹ |
| Imperative, <i>mampaasak-ka</i> | | | |

¹ Also *inan paasak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| First person singular... | Na-ka-paasak ¹ | paasak-ko | impaasak-ko |
| Second person singular | Mo-ka-paasak | paasak-mo | impaasak-mo |
| Third person singular... | To-ka-paasak | paasak-to | impaasak-to |
| First person plural ---- | Me-ka-paasak | paasak-me | impaasak-me |
| Second person plural... | Dyo-ka-paasak | paasak-dyo | impaasak-dyo |
| Third person plural --- | Cha-ka-paasak ¹ | paasak-cha | impaasak-cha |
| Imperative, <i>paasak-mo</i> | | | |

¹ Also *na-ka-pan-paasak*, etc.

NEGATIVE FORMS

Root, *Bunu*, To KILL
AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| First person singular... | Aligua na-ka-ama munu | ikak mamunu | ikak amunu |
| Second person singular | Aligua ka-ka-ama munu | ag-ka mamunu | ag-ka amunu |
| Third person singular... | Aligua to-ka-ama munu | ag-to mamunu | ag-to amunu |
| First person plural ---- | Aligua kame ka amamunu | ag-kame mamunu | ag-kame amunu |
| Second person plural... | Aligua kayo ka ama munu | ag-kayo mamunu | ag-kayo amunu |
| Third person plural --- | Aligua era ka ama munu | ag-era mamunu | ag-era amunu |
| Imperative, <i>ag-ka mamunu</i> | | | |

NOTE.—It appears that all these tenses may be construed either with the negative particle *ag* or with *aligua*. I give them as they are most often heard.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| First person singular... | Aligua na-ka-pan-bunua | ag-ko-bunuin | ag-ko-binu |
| Second person singular | Aligua mo-ka-pan-bunua | ag-mo-bunuin | ag-mo-binu |
| Third person singular... | Aligua to-ka-pan-bunua | ag-to-bunuin | ag-to-binu |
| First person plural ---- | Aligua me-ka-pan-bunua | ag-me-bunuin | ag-me-binu |
| Second person plural... | Aligua dyo-ka-pan-bunua | ag-dyo-bunuin | ag-dyo-binu |
| Third person plural --- | Aligua cha-ka-pan-bunua | ag-cha-bunuin | ag-cha-binu |
| Imperative, <i>ag-mo bunuin</i> | | | |

Root, *Asak*, To PLANT
AGENT EMPHASIZED

| Form | Continuative tense | Present or future tense | Past tense |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| First person singular... | Aligua na-ka aman asak | ikak manasak | ikak anasak |
| Second person singular | Aligua ka-ka aman asak | ag-ka manasak | ag-ka anasak |
| Third person singular... | Aligua to-ka aman asak | ag-to manasak | ag-to anasak |
| First person plural ---- | Aligua kame ka aman asak | ag-kame manasak | ag-kame anasak |
| Second person plural... | Aligua kayo ka aman asak | ag-kayo manasak | ag-kayo anasak |
| Third person plural --- | Aligua era ka aman asak | ag-era manasak | ag-era anasak |
| Imperative, <i>ag-ka manasak</i> | | | |

NOTE.—The foregoing note applies equally to this paradigm.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| First person singular... | Aligua na-kapan-iasak | ag-ko iasak | ag-ko inasak |
| Second person singular | Aligua mo-kapan-iasak | ag-mo iasak | ag-mo inasak |
| Third person singular... | Aligua to-kapan-iasak | ag-to iasak | ag-to inasak |
| First person plural ---- | Aligua me-kapan-iasak | ag-me iasak | ag-me inasak |
| Second person plural... | Aligua dyo-kapan-iasak | ag-dyo iasak | ag-dyo inasak |
| Third person plural --- | Aligua cha-kapan-iasak | ag-cha iasak | ag-cha inasak |
| Imperative, <i>ag-mo iasak</i> | | | |

THE PASSIVE VOICE

Bumu, To KILL

| Form | I am killed (present or future tense), etc. | I was (or have been) killed, etc. |
|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| First person singular..... | Mabunu-ak | abunu-ak |
| Second person singular | Mabunu-ka | abunu-ka |
| Third person singular..... | Mabunu-to | abunu-to |
| First person plural | Mabunu-kame | abunu-kame |
| Second person plural..... | Mabunu-kayo | abunu-kayo |
| Third person plural | Mabu u-era | abunu-era |

Examples

Mabunu-ak nem kabuasan I shall be killed to-morrow.
Guara savei a too abunu There is a man killed.

Another rendering of the passive voice and one apparently more in use is according to the following examples:

Cha-ak-ka-panbunua They are killing me; or, I am being killed by them.
Cha-ka-ka-panbunua They are killing you; or, you are being killed by them.
Cha-kame-ka-panbunua They are killing us; or, we are being killed by them.
Cha-ka-panbunua sun sikara They are killing them; or, they are being killed by them.

PAST TENSE

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Binumu-cha-ak</i> | They killed me; or, I was killed by them. |
| <i>Binumu-cha sun sikáto</i> | They killed him; or, he was killed by them. |
| <i>Binumu-cha sun sikayo</i> | They killed you; or, you were killed by them. |

CONJUGATION OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Root, *Kalbig*, To STRIKE WITH THE FIST

| Agent emphasized | Object emphasized |
|---|--|
| <i>I am striking with the fist, etc.</i> Na-ka ama-ngalbig Ka-ka ama-ngalbig To-ka ama-ngalbig Kame ka ama-ngalbig Kayo ka ama-ngalbig Era ka ama ngalbig | <i>Is being struck by me with the fist, etc.</i> Na-ka pan-kalbiga Mo-ka pan-kalbiga To-ka pan-kalbiga Me-ka pan-kalbiga Dyo-ka pan-kalbiga Cha-ka pan-kalbiga |
| <i>I struck with the fist, etc.</i> Angalbig-ak Angalbig-ka Angalbig-to Angalbig kame Angalbig kayo Angalbig era | <i>Was struck by me with the fist, etc.</i> Kinalbig-ko ¹ Kinalbig-mo Kinalbig-to Kinalbig-me Kinalbig-dyo Kinalbig-cha |
| <i>I strike with the fist (present or future), etc.</i> Mangalbig-ak Mangalbig-ka Mangalbig-to Mangalbig kame Mangalbig kayo Mangalbig era | <i>Is struck by me with the fist (present or future), etc.</i> Kalbigen-ko Kalbigen-mo Kalbigen-to Kalbigen-me Kalbigen-dyo Kalbigen-cha |

¹Also pronounced *kinilbig-ko*.

Conjugation of the transitive verb, root “kalbig” (to strike with the fist), with object expressed by a personal pronoun

| | I am striking | I struck | I strike |
|------|--|--|------------------------|
| Thee | ta ka kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-ta ka | kalbigen-ta ka |
| Him | na kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-ko sun sikáto | kalbigen-ko sun sikáto |
| You | ta kayo kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-ta kayo | kalbigen-ta kayo |
| Them | na kapan kalbiga sun sikara | kinalbig-ko era; or, kinalbig-ko sun sikara | kalbigen-ko era |
| | Thou art striking | Thou struckest | Thou strikest |
| Me | mo ak kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-mo ak | kalbigen-mo ak |
| Him | mo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-mo sun sikáto | kalbigen-mo sun sikáto |
| Us | mo kame kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-mo kame | kalbigen-mo kame |
| Them | mo era kapan kalbiga; or, mo kapan kalbiga sun sikara | kinalbig-mo era; or, kinalbig-mo sun sikara | kalbigen-mo sun sikara |

Conjugation of the transitive verb, root “kalbig,” etc.—Continued

| | He is striking | He struck | He strikes |
|------|--|--|--|
| Me | to ak kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-to ak | kalbigen-to ak |
| Thee | to ka kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-to ka | kalbigen-to ka |
| Him | to kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-to sun sikáto | kalbigen-to sun sikáto |
| Us | to kame kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-to kame | kalbigen-to kame |
| You | to kayo kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-to kayo | kalbigen-to kayo |
| Them | to era kapan kalbiga; or, to kapan kalbiga sun sikara | kinalbig-to era; or, kinalbig-to sun sikara | kalbigen-to era; or, kalbigen-to sun sikara |
| | We are striking ¹ | We struck | We strike |
| Thee | me ka kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-me ka | kalbigen-me ka |
| Him | me kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-me sun sikáto | kalbigen-me sun sikáto |
| You | me kayo kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-me kayo | kalbigen-me kayo |
| Them | me era kapan kalbiga; or, me kapan kalbiga sun sikara | kinalbig-me era | kalbigen-me era; or, kalbigen-me sun sikara |
| | You are striking ² | You struck | You strike |
| Me | dyo ak kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-dyo ak | kalbigen-dyo ak |
| Him | dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-dyo sun sikáto | kalbigen-dyo sun sikáto |
| Us | dyo kame kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-dyo kame | kalbigen-dyo kame |
| Them | dyo era kapan kalbiga; or, dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikara | kinalbig-dyo era; or, ki- nalbig-dyo sun sikara | kalbigen-dyo era; or, kalbigen-dyo sun sikara |
| | They are striking ³ | They struck | They strike |
| Me | cha ak kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-cha ak | kalbigen-cha ak |
| Thee | cha ka kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-cha ka | kalbigen-cha ka |
| Him | cha kapan kalbiga sun sikáto | kinalbig-cha sun sikáto | kalbigen-cha sun sikáto |
| Us | cha kame kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-cha kame | kalbigen-cha kame |
| You | cha kayo kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-cha kayo | kalbigen-cha kayo |
| Them | cha kapan kalbiga sun sikara; or, cha era kapan kalbiga | kinalbig-cha sun sikara | kalbigen-cha sun sikara |

¹Thou and I, we . . . Sikam tan sikak, kita . . .
He and I, we . . . Sikáto tan sikak, me . . .
Ye and I, we . . . Sikayo tan sikak, tayo . . .
They and I, we . . . Sikara tan sikak, me . . .
²You (dual), sikayo'n chua, dyo . . .
³They (dual), sikara'n chua, cha . . .

NOTE.—The neutral pronoun “it” is generally not expressed: “Did he strike the letter with the fist?” (*Kinalbig-to e sudat?*) “Yes; he struck it.” (*Ōn, kinalbig-to or kinalbig-to so, in which last case so might be the equivalent of “it.”*)

Further examples of transitive verbs

- Na-kapan kana tinapai.

Mo-kapan kana tinapai.

Sikam tan sikak, tayo kapan kana tinapai.

Me-kapan kana tinapai.

Cha-kapan kana tinapai.
- (a) I am eating bread.

(b) You are eating bread.

(c) You and I are eating bread.

(d) We are eating bread.

(e) They are eating bread.
- The past tense of the continuative form emphasizing the object can to my knowledge be rendered only by adding *nuntan*, meaning “some time ago,” to the present tense as given in sentences (a)–(e).

I was eating bread.

You were eating bread.

You and I were eating bread.

We were eating bread.

They were eating bread.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Si Kuan pan kanai tinapai.</i> | John is eating bread. |
| <i>Si Kuan pan kanai aapag.</i> | John is eating meat. |
| <i>Si Kuan pan kanai ikan.</i> | John is eating fish. |
| <i>Si Kuan pan sidiupa chigu.</i> | John is eating soup. |
| <i>E kabadyo pan kanai tige.</i> | The horse is eating corn. |
| <i>E baka pan kanai adét.</i> | The cow is eating grass. |
| <i>E páiyad pan kanai tige.</i> | The bird is eating corn. |
| <i>E páiyad pan kanai bekás.</i> | The bird is eating rice. |
| <i>Na-ka-aman inom ne chanum.</i> | I am drinking water. |
| <i>Anginom-ak ne chanum.</i> | I have drunk water. |
| <i>Manginom-ak ne chanum asanem.</i> | I will drink water. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman inom ne chanum.</i> | John is drinking water. |
| <i>E kabadyo aman inom ne chanum.</i> | The horse is drinking water. |
| <i>E ngian aman inom ne chanum.</i> | The cat is drinking water. |
| <i>E asu aman inom ne chanum.</i> | The dog is drinking water. |
| <i>E páiyad aman inom ne chanum.</i> | The bird is drinking water. |
| <i>E kabadyo tinábui-to e aának.</i> | The horse threw the boy. |
| <i>Saman a kabadyo tabúien-to-ka.</i> | That horse will throw you. |
| <i>Nak-manganúb saxei a marágoas.</i> | I will go hunting deer. |
| <i>Nak-manúlo ne bued.</i> | I will go hunting mountain rats (in traps). |
| <i>Nak-mamáltog ne kuat.</i> | I will go shooting quails. |
| <i>Nak-mamáltog ne pávao.</i> | I will go shooting eagles. |

It must be borne in mind that the preceding English sentences can be rendered in Nabaloi with the help of two different verbal forms, according to whether the subject or the object is emphasized. In the first sentence, *Na-ka-pan kanai tinapai*, it will be found (by referring to the first table, root *bunu*) that the object is the accentuated part. If the subject were to be accentuated the sentence would be *Na-ka amá ngan ne tinapai* (past tense, *Aná-ngan-ak ne tinapai*).

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

To be thirsty

| | I am thirsty | I was thirsty | I will be thirsty |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| I ----- | na-ka aman akou | naakou-ak | maakou-ak |
| You ----- | ka-ka aman akou | naakou-ka | maakou-ka |
| Thou and I ----- | sikam tan sikak ka aman akou | sikam tan sikak, na-akou kita | sikam tan sikak, ma-akou kita |
| He ----- | aman akou-to | naakou-to | maakou-to |
| He and I ----- | sikáto tan sikak ka aman akou | sikáto tan sikak, na-akou kame | sikáto tan sikak, ma-akou kame |
| Ye (dual) ----- | kayo ka aman akou a chua | naakou kayo a chua | maakou kayo a chua |
| They (dual) ----- | era ka aman akou a chua | naakou era'n chua | maakou era'n chua |
| We (ye and I) ----- | sikatayo ka aman akou | sikatayo naakou; or, naakou tayo | sikatayo maakou; or, maakou tayo |
| We (they and I) ----- | sikame ka aman akou | naakou kame | maakou kame |
| Ye (plural) ----- | kayo ka aman akou | naakou-kayo | maakou kayo |
| They (plural) ----- | era ka aman akou | naakou-era | maakou era |
| <i>Aman akou si Kuan, John is thirsty</i> <i>Aman akou e kabadyo, The horse is thirsty</i> | | | |

To be hungry

| | I am hungry | I was hungry | I will be hungry |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| I ----- | na-ka aman akang | naakang-ak | maakang-ak |
| You ----- | ka-ka aman akang | naakang-ka | maakang-ka |
| Thou and I ---- | sikam tan sikak ka aman akang | sikam tan sikak, na- akang kita | sikam tan sikak, ma- akang kita |
| He ----- | sikáto aman akang; or, aman akang-to | naakang-to | maakang-to |
| He and I ----- | sikáto tan sikak ka aman akang | sikáto tan sikak, na- akang kame | sikáto tan sikak, ma- akang kame |
| Ye (dual) ----- | kayo ka aman akang a chua | naakang kayo a chua | maakang kayo a chua |
| They (dual) ---- | sikara'n chua aman akang; or, era ka aman akang a chua | naakang era'n chua | maakang era'n chua |
| We (ye and I) --- | sikatayo ka aman akang | sikatayo naakang; or, naakang tayo | sikatayo maakang; or, maakang tayo |
| We (they and I) - | sikame ka aman akang | naakang kame | maakang kame |
| Ye (plural) ----- | kayo ka aman akang | naakang kayo | maakang kayo |
| They (plural) ---- | sikara aman akang; or, era ka aman akang | naakang era | maakang era |
| Aman akang si Kuan, John is hungry Aman akang e kabyo, The horse is hungry | | | |

NOTE.—In all forms *akang* is also pronounced *agang*. In *na-ka aman akang* the *ka* is mostly pronounced *xa*; the same applies to all paradigms where *na-ka aman* occurs.

Further examples of intransitive verbs

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Na-ka aman kaneng tan ningning.</i> | I am standing and looking. |
| <i>Inan kaneng-to tan ningning-to.</i> | He was standing and looking. |
| <i>Na-ka aman tungao tan ama-ngan.</i> | I am sitting and eating. |
| <i>Inan tungao-to tan ana-ngan.</i> | He was sitting and eating. |
| <i>Inan kaneng-to tan to kapan aknian saxeí a paltog.</i> | He was standing and holding a gun. |
| <i>Inaknian-to paltog.</i> | He held a gun. |
| <i>Insilip-to paltog.</i> | He pointed a gun. |
| <i>Inan kaneng-to tan to-kapan isilip paltog.</i> | He was standing and pointing a gun. |
| <i>E aanak inan ningis tan ana-ngan.</i> | The boy was crying and eating. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman axat tan amang ngisiu.</i> | John is walking and whistling. |
| <i>Aman tayab e payad.</i> | The bird is flying. |
| <i>Aman kukúchap e ulæg.</i> | The snake is crawling. |
| <i>Aman ngaikai e ikan.</i> | The fish is swimming. |
| <i>Aman bídu e asu.</i> | The dog is barking. |
| <i>Aman ngidigni e kabyo.</i> | The horse is neighing. |
| <i>Aman ngigid (or aman asel) e puxao.</i> | The eagle is screaming. |
| <i>Aman ngakngak e bakbáxan.</i> | The frog is croaking. |
| <i>Aman bíng e podiokan.</i> | The bee is humming. |
| <i>Na-ka aman asel.</i> | I am talking. |
| <i>Inan asel-ak.</i> | I was talking. |
| <i>Nanasel-ak.</i> | I have talked. |
| <i>Mangasel-ak asanem.</i> | I will talk. |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Inan asel-ka nuntan.</i> | You were talking. |
| <i>Sikáto aman asel.</i> | He is talking. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman asel.</i> | John is talking. |
| <i>Na-ka aman ningis.¹</i> | I am crying. |
| <i>Inan nangis-ak.</i> | I was crying. |
| <i>Nanningis-ak.</i> | I have cried. |
| <i>Mannangis-ak asanem.</i> | I will cry. |
| <i>Inan ningis-ka.</i> | You were crying. |
| <i>Sikáto aman nangis.</i> | He is crying. |
| <i>Aman nangis si Kuan.</i> | John is crying. |
| <i>Na-ka aman badeu.</i> | I am singing. |
| <i>Inan badeu-ak.</i> | I was singing. |
| <i>Nanbadeu-ak.</i> | I have sung. |
| <i>Manbadeu-ak asanem.</i> | I will sing. |
| <i>Inan badeu-ak.</i> | You were singing. |
| <i>Nanbadeu-ka.</i> | You have sung. |
| <i>Sikáto aman badeu.</i> | He is singing. |
| <i>Si Kuon aman badeu.</i> | John is singing. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman keldiau.</i> | John is shouting. |
| <i>Na-ka aman keldiau.</i> | I am shouting. |
| <i>Inan keldiau-ak.</i> | I was shouting. |
| <i>Nankeldiau-ak.</i> | I have shouted. |
| <i>Mangkeldiau-ak asanem.</i> | I will shout. |
| <i>Inan keldiau ka.</i> | You were shouting. |
| <i>Sikáto aman keldiau.</i> | He is shouting. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman keldiau.</i> | John is shouting. |
| <i>Na-ka aman tutúbo.</i> | I am whispering. |
| <i>Inan tutúbo-ak.</i> | I was whispering. |
| <i>Nantutúbo-ak.</i> | I have whispered. |
| <i>Mantutúbo-ak asanem.</i> | I will whisper. |
| <i>Inan tutúbo ka.</i> | You were whispering. |
| <i>Sikáto aman tutúbo.</i> | He is whispering. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman-tutúbo.</i> | John is whispering. |
| <i>Na-ka ama-ngingi.</i> | I am laughing. |
| <i>Inan ngingi-ak.</i> | I was laughing. |
| <i>Nanningi-ak.</i> | I have laughed. |
| <i>Mangngingi-ak asanem.</i> | I will laugh. |
| <i>Inan ngingi-ka.</i> | You were laughing. |
| <i>Sikáto ama-ngingi.</i> | He is laughing. |
| <i>Si Kuan ama-ngingi.</i> | John is laughing. |
| <i>Na-ka ama-mangid-ak.</i> | I am smiling. |
| <i>Inan mangid-ak.</i> | I was smiling. |
| <i>Manmangid-ak asanem.</i> | I will smile. |
| <i>Inan mangid-ka.</i> | You were smiling. |
| <i>Sikáto ama-mangid.</i> | He is smiling. |
| <i>Si Kuan ama-mangid.</i> | John is smiling. |
| <i>Na-ka aman akad.</i> | I am walking. |
| <i>Inan akad-ak.</i> | I was walking. |
| <i>Nanaxach' ak.</i> | I have walked. |
| <i>Manakár-ak.</i> | I will walk. |
| <i>Anáxach' ak, or anákar' ak.</i> | I am off. |
| <i>Inan akad-ka.</i> | You were walking. |

¹ The root word is differently heard as *nangis* or *ningis*.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Sikáto aman akad.</i> | He is walking. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman akad.</i> | John is walking. |
| <i>Aman aadunai e kulpot.</i> | The cloud is drifting (slowly). |
| <i>Aman bubtik e kulpot.</i> | The cloud is flying (fast). |
| <i>Si Kuan amang ngisiu.</i> | John is whistling. |
| <i>Si Kuan aman bubtik.</i> | John is running. |
| <i>Aman dátok si Kuan.</i> | John is jumping. |
| <i>Aman akad e kabadyo.</i> | The horse is walking. |
| <i>Aman bubtik e kabadyo.</i> | The horse is running. |
| <i>Manúchan niman.</i> | It rains now. |
| <i>Inan úran kachiman.</i> | It rained yesterday. |
| <i>Anúran kabuasan.</i> | It will rain to-morrow. |
| <i>Nem anúran niman adáui ag-ak-andao.</i> | If it rains to-night I shall not go. |
| <i>Aman-dánte niman.</i> | It hails now. |
| <i>Inan-dánte kachiman.</i> | It hailed yesterday. |
| <i>Mandánte kabuasan.</i> | It will hail to-morrow. |
| <i>Nem mandánte niman adáui ag-ak-andao.</i> | If it hails to-night I shall not go. |
| <i>Tagin niman.</i> | It is cold now. |
| <i>Tagin kachiman.</i> | It was cold yesterday. |
| <i>Antagin nem kabuasan.</i> | It will be cold to-morrow. |
| <i>Nem tagin kabuasan ag-ak-andao.</i> | If it is cold to-morrow I shall not go. |
| <i>Ampetáng niman.</i> | It is warm now. |
| <i>Ampetáng kachiman.</i> | It was warm yesterday. |
| <i>Ampetáng ammo¹ nem kabuasan.</i> | It will be warm to-morrow. |
| <i>Nem ampetáng kabuasan ag-ak-andao.</i> | If it is warm to-morrow I shall not go. |
| <i>Guarai chagæm chi amiánan.</i> | The north wind blows. |
| <i>Aman chagæm chi chaya niman.</i> | The east wind is blowing. |
| <i>Guarai chagæm chi daut kachiman.</i> | The west wind was blowing yesterday. |
| <i>Guara ammo chagæm chi abagátan nem kabuasan.</i> | The south wind will blow to-morrow. |
| <i>Pigan inaxat-mo chi balei-mo?</i> | When did you go home? |
| <i>Aman mutok chi balei-to.</i> | He is coming home. |
| <i>Mimútok chi balei-to.</i> | He came home. |
| <i>Anmútok chi balei-to asanem.</i> | He will come home. |
| <i>Baibaiim anaxat chi balei-to.</i> | Let him go home. |
| <i>Impakéto-ak amangan.</i> | He asked me to eat. |
| <i>Taqualin-ko mangan-to.</i> | I will ask him to eat. |
| <i>Tinagual-ta-ka mangan.</i> | I asked you to eat. |
| <i>Taqualin-ta-ka asanem mangan.</i> | I will ask you to eat. |

REFLEXIVE FORMS

To strike one's self with the fist

| | I am striking myself, etc. | I struck myself, etc. | I shall strike myself, etc. |
|--------------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| I ----- | na-ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig-ak | mang-kalbig-ak |
| You ----- | ka-ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig-ka | mang-kalbig-ka |
| He ----- | to-ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig-to, or, si-káto man-kalbig | mang-kalbig-to |
| We ----- | kame ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig kame | mang-kalbig kame |
| You (plural) ----- | kayo ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig kayo | mang-kalbig kayo |
| They ----- | era ka aman kalbig | inan kalbig era | mang-kalbig era |

¹ Ammo has the meaning of "probably;" *Ōn ammo*, Yes, it seems so.

To strike each other with the fist

| | You and I arestriking each other with the fist | You and I struck each other with the fist | You and I will strike each other with the fist |
|--------------------|--|---|--|
| Thou and I ----- | sikam tan sikak, kita ka aman-kinálbíg | sikam tan sikak, kita inan kinálbíg | sikam tan sikak, man-kinálbíg kitá asanem |
| He and I ----- | sikáto tan sikak, kame ka aman-kinálbíg | sikáto tan sikak, kame inan kinálbíg | sikáto tan sikak, man-kinálbíg kameasanem |
| Ye (dual) ----- | sikayo'n chua, kayo ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg kayo chua | mankinálbíg kayo chua asanem |
| They (dual) ----- | sikara'n chua era ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg era'n chua | mankinálbíg era'n chua asanem |
| We (ye and I) ---- | sikayo tan sikak, tayo ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg tayo | mankinálbíg tayo asanem |
| We (they and I) -- | sikara tan sikak, kame ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg kame | mankinálbíg kame asanem |
| You ----- | kayo ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg kayo | inankinálbíg kayo asanem |
| They ----- | era ka aman kinálbíg | inan kinálbíg era | mankinálbíg era asanem |

VARIOUS VERBAL FORMS

To strike (used with varying intensity)

| | John is striking James | John struck James | John will strike James |
|---|--|--|---|
| Said positively---- | si Kuan pankalbíga sun Kaime | si Kuan inankálbíg-to sun Kaime | si Kuan kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem |
| Said doubtfully --- | si Kuan pankalbíga am mo ¹ sun Kaime | si Kuan inankálbíg-to ammo sun Kaime | si Kuan kálbigen-to ammo sun Kaime asanem |
| Statement made on hearsay James (while he is running) | si Kuan konó ² pankalbíga sun Kaime si Kuan pankalbíga sun Kaime núnta amam búbtik | si Kuan konó inan-kálbíg-to sun Kaime si Kuan inankálbíg-to sun Kaime nunta amam búbtik | si Kuan konó kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem si Kuan kalbigen-to sun Kaime asanem núnta amam búbtik |

¹ Ammo, it seems.
² Konó, it is said; also, *kuancha*, they say (I., kanó, an impersonal passive verb, meaning "it is said").

Negative and imperative forms; permission

| | |
|--|--|
| Si Kuan ag-to inankálbíg sun Kaime. | John did not strike James. |
| Kuan, mo-kálbíg sun Kaime. | John, strike James (commanding). |
| Kuan, mo-ga-kálbíg sun Kaime. ¹ | John, strike James (beseeching). |
| Si Kuan mabandin-to kalbigen sun Kaime. ² | John may strike James (giving permission). |

¹ The beseeching sense I here attribute to the infix *ga* is only inferred from its colloquial use, but I have no absolute certainty of it.
² *Mábádin* may, *can* (I., mabalin).

*Forms expressing desire, duty; also frequentative and causative forms*¹

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Si Kuan pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i> | John desires to strike James. |
| <i>Si Kuan pinian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i> | John desired to strike James. |
| <i>Si Kuan sigucho pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i> | John will desire to strike James. |
| <i>Si Kuan sigæd nem pankalbigen-to sun Kaime.</i> | John ought to be striking James. |
| <i>Si Kuan sigæd nem mankalbig-to sun Kaime kabuasan.</i> | John ought to strike James to-morrow. |
| <i>Si Kuan sigæd nem kinalbig-to sun Kaime kachiman.</i> | John ought to have struck James yesterday. |
| <i>Si Kuan to-ka-pan-kalbigen ulai sun Kaime.</i> | John is frequently striking James. |
| <i>Si Kuan inan kalbig-to ni ulai sun Kaime.</i> | John frequently struck James. |
| <i>Si Kuan kalbigen-to ni ulai sun Kaime asanem.</i> | John will frequently strike James. |
| <i>Si Kuan e makapuan sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i> | John is causing James to strike. |
| <i>Si Kuan inakpuan-to sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i> | John caused James to strike. |
| <i>Si Kuan makpuan asanem sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i> | John will cause James to strike. |
| <i>Si Kaime pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i> | James desires to kick John. |
| <i>Si Kaime pinian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i> | James desired to kick John. |
| <i>Si Kaime sigucho pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i> | James will desire to kick John. |
| <i>Si Kaime sigæd nem mansikdiat-to sun Kuan.</i> | James ought to be kicking John. |
| <i>Si Kaime sigæd nem isikdiat-to sun Kuan kabuasan.</i> | James ought to kick John to-morrow. |
| <i>Si Kaime sigæd nem insikdiat-to sun Kuan kachiman.</i> | James ought to have kicked John yesterday. |
| <i>Si Kaime to-ka-pan isikdiat ni ulai sun Kuan.</i> | James is frequently striking John. |
| <i>Si Kaime inan isikdiat-to ni ulai sun Kuan.</i> | James frequently struck John. |
| <i>Si Kaime isikdiat-to ni ulai sun Kuan.</i> | James will frequently strike John. |
| <i>Si Kaime e makapuan sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i> | James is causing John to strike. |
| <i>Si Kaime inakpuan-to sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i> | James caused John to strike. |
| <i>Si Kaime makpuan asanem sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i> | James will cause John to strike. |
| <i>Sikak e makapuan dya sikáto ikaspig saæi a bató.</i> | I cause him to throw a stone. |
| <i>Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saæi a bató kachiman.</i> | I caused him to throw a stone yesterday. |

¹ Among these sentences there are some which, while grammatically correct, would sound strange to Igorot ears. I could and would have translated the English text more freely, but have preferred to introduce a certain stiffness rather than lose sight of what to me appeared the real object of these examples, namely, to afford a comparative insight into the skeleton of the Igorot language. The same remark applies to many other sentences given as illustrations.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Sikak makpuan asanem dya ikaspig-to saxei a bató kabuasan.</i> | I will cause him to throw a stone to-morrow. |
| <i>Makpuan-ak dya isúman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan niman.</i> | I cause him to put his hat on the table now. |
| <i>Inakpuan-ak dya isuman-to kadúbong-to chi damisáan kachiman.</i> | I caused him to put his hat on the table yesterday. |
| <i>Makpuan-ak dya isuman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan nem kabuasan.</i> | I will cause him to put his hat on the table to-morrow. |
| <i>Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa niman.</i> | I cause him to throw a club now. |
| <i>Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa kachiman.</i> | I caused him to throw a club yesterday. |
| <i>Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa kabuasan.</i> | I will cause him to throw a club to-morrow. |
| <i>Páknan-ko sun sikáto niman.</i> | I cause him to eat now (as meaning I give him to eat now). |
| <i>Pinakán-ko sun sikáto kachiman.</i> | I caused him to eat yesterday (as meaning I gave him to eat). |
| <i>Páknan-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.</i> | I will cause him to eat to-morrow (as meaning I will give him to eat). |
| <i>Paninom-ko sun sikáto niman.</i> | I cause him to drink now. |
| <i>Inpaninom-ko sun sikáto kachiman.</i> | I caused him to drink yesterday. |
| <i>Paninom-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.</i> | I will cause him to drink to-morrow. |

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF THE COMBINATION OF ROOTS AND PARTICLES¹Root, *Apmi*, FIRE

| | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| <i>Man-apui</i> | { To be one who makes fire, <i>manapui-ka</i> . Imperative: "Make fire" (also "boil rice"). <i>Sepai e manapui?</i> "Who is the one that makes fire (that boils rice)?" | <i>Na-ka aman apui</i> <i>Nan apui-ak</i> <i>Manapui-ak</i> |
| <i>Mam-pa-apui</i> | { To be one who orders fire to be made; <i>mam-paapui-ka</i> . Imperative: "Be the person who orders fire to be made;" "get fire made." | <i>Na-ka aman paapui</i> <i>Nan paapui-ak</i> <i>Mampaapui-ak</i> |
| <i>I-apui</i> | { To be the thing to which fire is applied; <i>iapui-mo iai a bagás</i> (pronounced <i>bekás</i>). Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing to which you apply fire;" "boil this rice;" <i>iapui</i> generally has the sense of "to boil rice;" <i>inapui</i> = boiled rice, like English toast = toasted bread. | <i>Na-ka pan-iapui</i> <i>Inapui-ko</i> <i>Iapui-ko</i> |
| <i>Pa-i-apui</i> | { To be the thing which is ordered to be boiled, <i>paiapui-mo iai a bagás</i> . Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing which you order to be boiled;" "get this rice boiled." | <i>Na-ka paiapui</i> <i>Inapui-ko</i> <i>Paiapui-ko</i> |
| <i>Apmi-an</i> | To be the fireplace. | <i>Na-ka panapui-an</i> <i>Inapui-an-ko</i> <i>Apmi-an-ko</i> |
| <i>Pan-apui-an</i> | { To be the place used for making fire; also to be the pot used for boiling. (Compare under "Roots and particles.") | <i>Na-ka panapui-an</i> <i>Pinanapui-an-ko</i> <i>Panapui-an-ko</i> |

¹ In the last column I give the three tenses in the first person singular.

Root, *Sudat*, THE WRITING

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| <i>Man-sudat</i> | { To be the writer: <i>Sepai e mansudat niai?</i> "Who is the writer of this?" | { <i>Na-ka aman sudat</i> <i>Nansudat-ak</i> <i>Mansudat-ak</i> |
| <i>Mam-pa-sudat</i> | { To be one who orders another to write; <i>mam-pasudat-ka</i> . Imperative: "Order someone to write." | { <i>Na-ka aman pasudat</i> <i>Nampasudat-ak</i> <i>Mampasudat-ak</i> |
| <i>I-sudat</i> | { To be the thing written down (or written about); <i>isudat-mo iai a bidin</i> . Imperative: "Write down this order." | { <i>Na-ka pan isudat</i> <i>Insudat-ko</i> <i>Isudat-ko</i> |
| <i>Pa-i-sudat</i> | { To be the thing about which to write an order is given; <i>paisudat-mo suta bidin</i> . Imperative: "Have that order written down." | { <i>Na-ka paisudat</i> <i>Impaisudat-ko</i> <i>Paisudat-ko</i> |

Root, *Datok*, LEAP

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| <i>Man-datok</i> | { To be one who leaps; <i>mandatok-ka!</i> Imperative: "Leap!" | { <i>Na-ka aman datok</i> <i>Nandatok-ak</i> <i>Mandatok-ak</i> |
| <i>Pa-datok</i> | { To be that which is made, caused, or ordered to leap; <i>padatok-mo e kabadyo</i> . Imperative: "Let the horse be that which you cause to leap;" "start the horse (over this creek)." | { <i>Na-ka padatok</i> <i>Pinadatok-ko</i> <i>Padatok-ko</i> |
| <i>Mam-pa-datok</i> | { To be one who causes or orders the leaping: <i>Sepai e manipadatok ne kabadyo?</i> "Who is it that causes the horse to jump?" "Who starts the horse (over the creek)?" | { <i>Na-ka aman padatok</i> <i>Nampadatok-ak</i> <i>Mampadatok-ak</i> |
| <i>I-datok</i> | { To be the object in relation to which the leaping is done; <i>idatok-mo iai a anak</i> . Imperative: "Take this child in your arms and leap with it (over this creek)." | { <i>Na-ka pan idatok</i> <i>Indatok-ko</i> <i>Idatok-ko</i> |
| <i>Pa-i-datok</i> | { To be the object in relation to which the leaping is ordered to be done; <i>paidatok-mo iai a anak</i> . Imperative: "Have this child taken in arms by some person and let that person leap with it (over this creek)." | { <i>Na-ka paidatok</i> <i>Impaidatok-ko</i> <i>Paidatok-ko</i> |

Root, *Sisked*, WAIT

| | | |
|--------------------|--|--|
| <i>Man-sisked</i> | { To be one who waits; <i>mansisked-ka!</i> Imperative: "Wait!" | { <i>Na-ka aman sisked</i> <i>Nansisked-ak</i> <i>Mansisked-ak</i> |
| <i>Mam-pa-sked</i> | { To be one who orders to wait; <i>mampasked-ka ne podigtas!</i> Imperative: "Order the 'polistas' ¹ to wait." | { <i>Na-ka aman pasked</i> <i>Nampasked-ak</i> <i>Mampasked-ak</i> |
| <i>Pa-sked</i> | { To be that which is ordered, caused to wait; <i>pasked-mo sun sikáto</i> . Imperative: "Tell him to wait." | { <i>Na-ka pasked</i> <i>Pinasked-ko</i> <i>Pasked-ko</i> |
| <i>I-sisked</i> | { To be the object of the process of waiting in a transitive sense; <i>isisked-mo kabadyo</i> . Imperative: "Keep my horse waiting (at the door against my arrival)." <i>Isisked</i> is not used in connection with a person as object, since it would mean that such person were to be bodily laid hold of and so kept waiting. | { <i>Na-ka pan isisked</i> <i>Insisked-ko</i> <i>Isisked-ko</i> |

¹ Polistas, forced laborers under Spanish rule.

| | | |
|------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sisker-en</i> | { To be that which is awaited; <i>amak e siskeren-</i> ko. "I await my father." | { <i>Na-ka pansiskera</i> <i>Simisked-ko</i> <i>Siskeren-ko</i> |
|------------------|--|---|

Root, *Sibog*, IRRIGATION

| | | |
|---------------------|--|---|
| <i>Man-ibog</i> | { To be one who irrigates; <i>sepai e mani bog?</i> "Who is going to irrigate?" | { <i>Na-ka aman-ibog</i> <i>Anibog-ak</i> <i>Manibog-ak</i> |
| <i>Mam-pa-sibog</i> | { To be one who orders the irrigation; <i>mampa-</i> <i>sibog-ka sun sikara</i> . Imperative: "Tell them to irrigate." | { <i>Na-ka aman pasibog</i> <i>Nampasibog-ak</i> <i>Mampasibog-ak</i> |
| <i>Sibog-an</i> | { To be the object of irrigation; <i>sibogan-mo e</i> <i>chifoldyo</i> . Imperative: "Water the cab- bages" (Sp., repollo). | { <i>Na-ka pan siboga</i> <i>Sinibogan-ko</i> <i>Sibogan-ko</i> |
| <i>I-sibog</i> | { To be the thing with which the operation of irrigating is executed; <i>ag-mo iibung suta</i> <i>chanun</i> ; <i>isibog-mo</i> . "Don't throw that water away; use it for watering." | { <i>Na-ka panisibog</i> <i>Iisibog-ko</i> <i>Isibog-ko</i> |

Root, *Kaldiau*, SHOUT

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| <i>Man-kaldiau</i> | To be one who shouts. | { <i>Na-ka aman kaldiau</i> <i>Nankaldiau-ak</i> <i>Mankaldiau-ak</i> |
| <i>Kaldiau-an</i> | { To be one who is shouted for; <i>kaldiauan-mo</i> <i>sun sikato</i> . "Shout for him." | { <i>Na-ka pan kaldiaua</i> <i>Kinkaldiauan-ko</i> <i>Kaldiauan-ko</i> |
| <i>I-kaldiau</i> | { To be the object that gives cause for shouting. For instance, if a messenger departs forget- ting the letter he is to carry, I would say to someone near me: <i>Ikaldiau-mo e</i> <i>sudat</i> . "Call him back by shouts to take the letter," or, more literally, "Let the letter be thy motive for shouting." | { <i>Na-ka pan ikaldiau</i> <i>Inkaldiau-ko</i> <i>Ikaldiau-ko</i> |

Root, *Nemnem* (*Nannun*) MIND, THOUGHT

| | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| <i>Man-nemnem</i> | { To be one who thinks; <i>mannemnem-ka</i> . Imperative: "Reflect, consider." | { <i>Na-ka ama nemnem</i> <i>Nannemnem-ak</i> <i>Mannemnem-ak</i> |
| <i>Nemnem-an</i> | { To be the object of thinking; <i>ngaramto mo-ka-</i> <i>pan nemnema?</i> "Of what are you think- ing?" | { <i>Na-ka pan nemnema</i> <i>Innemnem-ak</i> <i>Nemnem-an-ko</i> |
| <i>I-nemnem</i> | { To be the thing of which one is mindful; <i>inemnem-mo suta inkuan-ko</i> . "Be mindful of what I have said." | { <i>Na-ka pan innemnem</i> <i>Ninemnem-ko</i> <i>Innemnem-ko</i> |

"TO BE" AND "TO HAVE"

To be present, to be extant, to find one's self

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| <i>Guara-ak</i> | I am | <i>Guara kame</i> | We are |
| <i>Guara-ka</i> | Thou art | <i>Guara kago</i> | You are |
| <i>Guara-to</i> | He is | <i>Guara era</i> | They are |

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>T'rai balei-mo?</i> | Where is your house? Where do you live? |
| <i>Guara e balei-ko chi Bagio.</i> | My house is in Baguio. I live in Baguio. |
| <i>Guara e atak-mo?</i> | Have you got your cleaver with you? |
| <i>Guara.</i> | I have. |
| <i>Guara chanum?</i> | Is there water? |
| <i>Anchi chanum.</i> | There is no water. |
| <i>Guara's amam chi balei?</i> | Is your father in the house? |
| <i>Guara.</i> | He is. |
| <i>Suta gadyem-mo guara chiai nuntan.</i> | Your friend was here some time ago. |
| <i>Nem guara-ak chi Manida mansudat-ak.</i> | If I shall be in Manila I will write. |

To have, to possess

| | | | |
|--|-----------|------------------------|---|
| <i>Guara anan-ak (guaranak)</i> | I have | <i>Guara anan kame</i> | We have |
| <i>Guara anan-ka</i> | Thou hast | <i>Guara anan kago</i> | You have |
| <i>Guara anan-to</i> | He has | <i>Guara anan era</i> | They have |
| <i>Guara anan-ak ne saxei a ama.</i> | | | I have a father. |
| <i>Guara anan-ka ne chua'n dima.</i> | | | Thou hast two hands. |
| <i>Guara anan era ne achaxael baka.</i> | | | They have many cows. |
| <i>Guara anan tayo ne kabyo.</i> | | | We (you and I) have horses. |
| <i>Guara anan kame ne oma.</i> | | | We (he and I, or they and I) have fields. |
| <i>Guara anan-ak ne saxei a balei, chi Bagio nuntan.</i> | | | I had formerly a house at Baguio. |
| <i>Guara anan-to ne saxei a balei, chi Bagio suta taöen alé.</i> | | | He will have a house at Baguio next year. |
| <i>Guara anan-ka ne saxei a asu?</i> | | | Hast thou a dog? |
| <i>Anchi anan-ak ne asu.</i> | | | I have no dog. |

*Further examples of the rendering of the English copula "to be"*¹

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| <i>Kadubong-ko iai.</i> | This is my hat. |
| <i>Oman iai.</i> | This is thy field. |
| <i>Balei-to iman.</i> | That is his house. |
| <i>Asu ni Kuan iai.</i> | This is John's dog. |
| <i>Kabadyok iman.</i> | Those are my horses. |
| <i>Sikáto dazi.</i> | He is a man. |
| <i>Sikáto dazi nuntan.</i> | He was a man. |
| <i>Daxi ammo asanem.</i> | He will be a man. |
| <i>Guasai sutan.</i> | It is an ax. |
| <i>Sikáto e amak nuntan.</i> | He was my father. |
| <i>Sikáto e inam nuntan.</i> | She was your mother. |
| <i>Ama-to's Kuan (or amato si Kuan).</i> | John is his father. |
| <i>Agi-to's Kaime.</i> | James is his brother. |
| <i>Agi-to's Maria.</i> | Mary is his sister. |

¹ Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Aságoak si Maria nem asanem.</i> | Mary will be my wife. |
| <i>Aságoak si Kuan nem asanem.</i> | John will be my husband. |
| <i>Matákal alé.</i> | He is a brave man. |
| <i>Aragui alé?</i> | Is it far? |

INTERJECTIONS

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Āră!</i> | } Surprise or astonishment either with admiration or with disappointment. |
| <i>Āsê!</i> | |
| <i>Āi āră!</i> | |
| <i>Ādō!</i> | } Astonishment with disapproval or regret. |
| <i>Ādā!</i> | |
| <i>Ai-aiyō!</i> | |
| <i>Ai-dādādādā!</i> | |
| <i>Tē-tē!</i> | } Encouragement; also urging a request. |
| <i>Ā-tē!</i> | |
| <i>Te-oh!</i> | |
| <i>Tētétété!</i> | |

ON THE TRAIL TO BENGUET

[A conversation with Igorot carriers.]

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Oi! tokala!</i> | I say! Just come here! |
| <i>Twai balci-mo?</i> | Where is your home? |
| <i>Ibingnet-ak.</i> | I am from Benguet. |
| <i>Pian-mo manuyon sun sikak?</i> | Will you be a carrier for me? |
| <i>Ikak pian (agak pian) tap inabdē-ak;</i> | I do not want to because I am tired; |
| <i>tap guara da uyon ko.</i> | because I have already a load. |
| <i>Ngaramto udyon-mo?</i> | What is your load? |
| <i>Guara udyon-ko'n asin ne baknang-ko.</i> | I have a load of salt for my headman. |
| <i>Anchi kadguam?</i> | Have you no companions? |
| <i>Guara.</i> | I have. |
| <i>Papiga kayo?</i> | How many are you? |
| <i>Annem kame.</i> | We are six. |
| <i>Mango suta kadguam, guara ngo uyon</i> | Well, then, and those companions—have |
| <i>cha?</i> | they loads too? |
| <i>Taguci era.</i> | I don't know about them. |
| <i>Tagual-mo kadguam.</i> | Call your companions. |
| <i>Taguci e kaanan cha.</i> | I do not know their whereabouts. |
| <i>Twai okipan-dyo chiai (or twai dyo-ka</i> | Where is your sleeping place here? |
| <i>okifa diai)?</i> | |
| <i>Chi balci ni Capitan N.</i> | In the house of Capitan N. |
| <i>A-té, andao kita, manudup-ka.</i> | Come along; let us go; be my com- panion. |
| <i>Kapangdu-ka, ipangdum e chalan.</i> | Go in front and lead the way. |
| <i>Oi! pian-dyo manuyon sun sikak?</i> | Look here! Will you be my carriers? |
| <i>Anchikchal kame.</i> | We do not want to. |
| <i>Sepai e kapisildia (Sp., cabecilla) dyo?</i> | Who of you is the leader? |
| <i>Iman.</i> | That one over there. |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Sepai ngaram-to?</i> | What is his name? ¹ |
| <i>Si Madiano e ngaram-to.</i> | Mariano is his name. |
| <i>Ngantoi ag-dyo-pian manuyon sun sikak?</i> | Why will you not carry for me? |
| <i>Guara uyunan-me e asin.</i> | We have to carry salt. |
| <i>Anken taddo kayo bingad.</i> | Even three of you only (would do for me). |
| <i>Baichan-ta kadio'n mapteng.</i> | I will pay you well. |
| <i>Piga?</i> | How much? |
| <i>Angken mamisus kayo.</i> | (I would not mind) even one peso for each of you. |
| <i>Kulang.²</i> | That is insufficient. |
| <i>Ngaram-to e kalkam (Sp., carga) ?</i> | What kind of loads have you? |
| <i>Guara saxei a ixamen na inaikalot tan saxei a kaon (Sp., cajon) dya chadgua e anuyon so.</i> | There is a bundle tied up in a mat and a box which must be carried by two. |
| <i>Ara! Mandikat e chalan tan abadeg e chanum chi Nagildiang.</i> | Bless me! The road is very difficult and the water at Nagiliang fearfully high [a river ford on the trail]. |
| <i>Suta anuyon ne kaon achumanko e dag-bo cha ne bintin.</i> | For those who carry the box I will increase the pay by 25 cents, Mexican. |
| <i>A-té! Ipaasas-ko e kalka; té! manudup.</i> | Come, I'll show you the loads; make haste and come along. |
| <i>Panumkal kayo ne chuan kalusod pan-guyon ne kaon.</i> | Get two sticks bought to serve for carrying the box. |
| <i>Pigan e iaxad mo?</i> | What time will be your departure? |
| <i>Niman.</i> | Now, at once. |
| <i>Kabuasan palbangun.</i> | To-morrow, early. |
| <i>Ampetang e chalan niman.</i> | The road is too hot now. |
| <i>Ag kame angan.</i> | We have not yet eaten. |
| <i>Anokip kame chi Sabdan.</i> | We shall sleep in Sablan. |
| <i>Panixadut dyo iai.</i> | Tie this together. |
| <i>Twai chagim.</i> | Where is your <i>chagi</i> (a sort of carrying rack) ? |
| <i>Asé! anbulat!</i> | Lord! but that is heavy! |
| <i>Aliqua'n anbulat; angkádias.</i> | It is not heavy at all; it is quite light. |
| <i>Ag-mabadin.</i> | It is impossible. |
| <i>Mabadin.</i> | It is possible. |
| <i>Anchi balon-me.</i> | We have no provisions for the road. |
| <i>Sikak e magamta.</i> | I will look out for that. |
| <i>Iai a alintarós (Sp., treintados cuartos) itumkaldyo ne kanin-dyo.</i> | For these 20 cents, Mexican, you may buy your food. |
| <i>Até-o! na akou!</i> | Get up! It is daylight! |
| <i>Mangan tayo chi chalan (or chalan e panganan tayo).</i> | We shall eat on the road. |
| <i>Twai chalan?</i> | Which is the road? |

¹ As many Ibalois dislike to pronounce their own names, it is expedient to ask a man's name from bystanders.

² An Igorot would never forgive himself for having accepted even the most advantageous terms without first protesting against their utter insufficiency with the time-sacred word *kulang*, pronounced with a mien of offended candor. The bargain once struck is, however, the more faithfully kept by him the less civilized he is.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Anchi dinibkan-dyo?</i> | Have you forgotten nothing? |
| <i>Padok e panchalchingan tayo.</i> | We shall make the river our resting place. |
| <i>Ngaran niai.</i> | What is this called? |
| <i>Sadiai e kuan-me . . .</i> | This we call . . . |
| <i>Akniim nin iai.</i> | Just take hold of this. |
| <i>Ag-ka-nin.</i> | Wait a moment. |
| <i>Isapám e uyon-mo.</i> | Put your load down. |
| <i>Dakbáoim iai.</i> | Open this (by lifting the lid). |
| <i>Ukasim iai.</i> | Untie this. |
| <i>Ikadot-mo múan.</i> | Bundle it up again. |
| <i>Twai kanin-ko?</i> | Where is my provender? |
| <i>Inakas ammo chi chalan.</i> | It seems to have fallen down on the road. |
| <i>Guara sun sikáto.</i> | He has got it. |
| <i>Aneng e achum.</i> | The others are not yet here. |
| <i>Inai-arágui e kact-me.</i> | Our companions are a long way off. |
| <i>Aragui nin ale?</i> | Is it still far? |
| <i>Aragui ne ootik.</i> | It is not very far. |
| <i>Anchi chanum? Pian-ko aninom.</i> | Is there no water? I want to drink. |
| <i>Guara ammo'd daspag.</i> | There seems to be some below. |
| <i>Kagadi pangala ne chanum.</i> | Be so kind as to have some water brought. |
| <i>Inabdé kame, mansalching kita.</i> | We are tired; let us rest. |
| <i>Pabaanes-mo-ak ne atak.</i> | Lend me your knife. ¹ |
| <i>Aknim-ak ne dukto.</i> | Give me a sweet potato. |
| <i>Twai kurábis?</i> | Where are the matches? |
| <i>Guara balei a okipan?</i> | Is there a house to sleep in? |
| <i>Guarai abong bengat.</i> | There is only a hut. |
| <i>Manapui-ka sai mandutu.</i> | Light a fire for cooking. |
| <i>Manumkal-ka ne sawei a manok.</i> | Buy a chicken. |
| <i>Ikuan mo'n andao ale.</i> | Tell him to come here. |
| <i>Kal'dyo amin.</i> | Come here all of you. |
| <i>Painom-mo e kabadyo.</i> | Water the horse. |
| <i>Ipastol-mo e kabadyo.</i> | Put the horse in the pasture. |
| <i>Atngim-mo sun sikáto.</i> | Help him. |

WRITING AND POPULAR SONGS

It is doubtful if the Ibaloi Igorot ever had a system of writing. No trace of any is nowadays to be found among them. There are handed down to us the characters of the neighboring Ilocano and Pangasinan which these tribes, like others of the lowlands, abandoned, together with their customs and religious beliefs, after the arrival of the Spaniards, whose culture they have ever since striven to adopt in a progressive spirit. The Igorot tribes are, however, distinct from the former inasmuch as they are older arrivals on Philippine soil and have

¹The knife, after being used, would be handed back silently, no equivalent for "thank you" being in use. On rare occasions *sigid*, *agik*—"well done, my brother"—or a like expression is heard.

retained their national or tribal peculiarities. They either did not bring the art of writing with them or they forgot it—perhaps with other manifestations of a former higher culture—because of the physical hardships they had to undergo when pushed by subsequent Malayan invaders into the inhospitable mountain fastnesses of the interior.

For what it may be worth I reproduce here as accurately as possible the sample of ancient writing given by Sinibaldo de Mas in his *Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843).

Lo P. S. 7^o B. L. V. L. T. W. J. A.

FIG. 1.—An unidentified inscription engraved on a board and found in the mountains inhabited by Igorot people in 1837 by a military expedition. (Same size as given by Sinibaldo de Mas; size of original is not known.)

On this he observes: "To this class of alphabets (Ilokano, Batangas, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Tondo) seems to belong the inscription (see fig. 1) engraved on a board that was found in 1837 by a military expedition in the mountains inhabited by the savages called Igorrotes." While unable to improve on this dubious discovery, I am glad to be able to give two bits of Igorot singing and thereby to contribute a trifle to the preservation of genuine Filipino music.

The Ibaloi is, in a way, rather fond of singing. Wandering through his silent woods he will unburden his heart by singing some low, melodious strain, the plaintive sound of which reveals the melancholy underlying the Malayan character. Again, at some festival, sitting with others around the fire, he will, in less harmonious tones and between frequent sips of rice wine, chant incidents of his family life to his assembled relatives and friends, who at intervals chime in in chorus until another, being alluded to, takes up the song in like manner. Many a time, as a guest on such occasions, have I laid myself down to sleep on some deerskin only to find the next morning the same party still droning out their confidential communications, though rather the worse for a night during which the cocoanut shell with rice wine had been kept constantly going around.

With this habit it is not to be wondered at that particularly stirring incidents of Igorot life should become the common property of young and old and, clad in more harmonious form, survive as popular ballads. The best known of these is one in which a young girl relates the cruel treatment suffered at the hands of her stepmother; her furtive flight to Kaiapa, a district adjoining Benguet, where she becomes the wife of a Spanish officer; her subsequent good fortune, and refusal ever to return to her home.

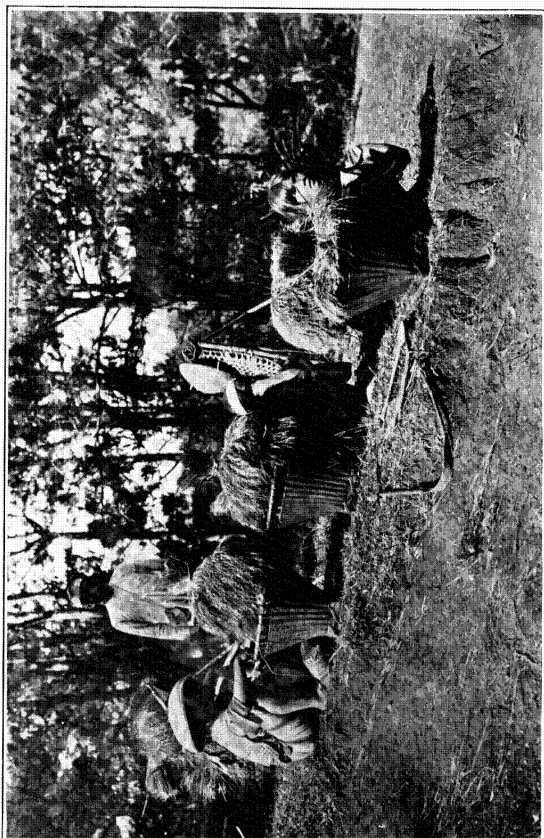


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXX. IBALOI WOMEN RICE CARRIERS RESTING ON THE TRAIL.

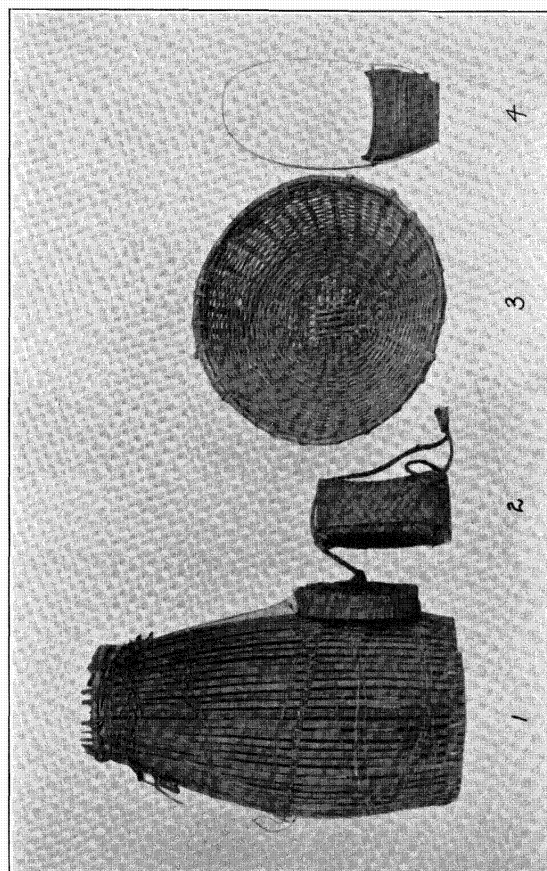


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXI. IBALOI BASKET WORK.

(1. *ba-tti*, for containing house; 2. *u-fu-ban*, for carrying food to work; 3. *sa-be-dan*, house basket for canoes; 4. *pa-tong*, Ibaloi "pocket," carried suspended from shoulder.)

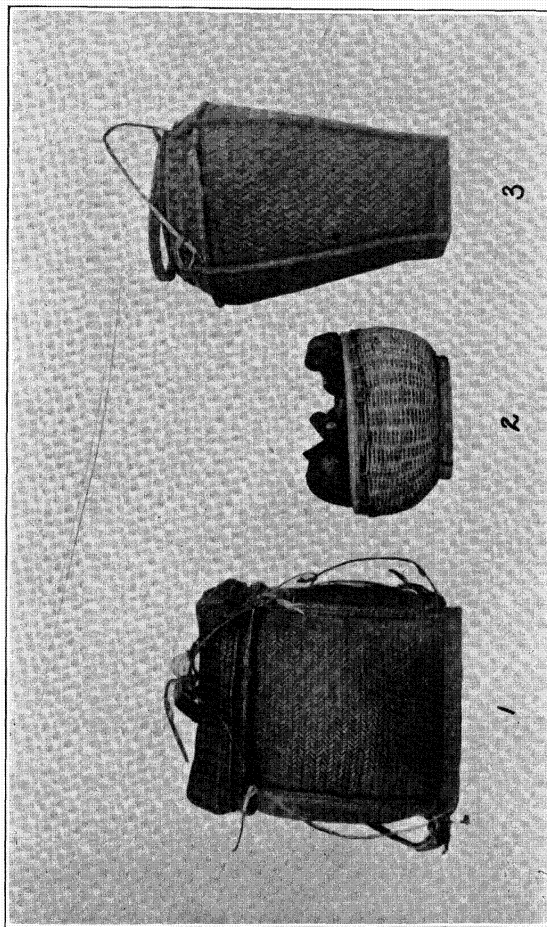


Photo by Worcester.
 PLATE LXXXII. IBALOI BASKETS.
 (1. *pa-ek-lig*, general receptacle, carried on back, slung over shoulders; 2. *se-ek-oh*, for boiled camotes; *tal-ant*, for storing rice or beans.)

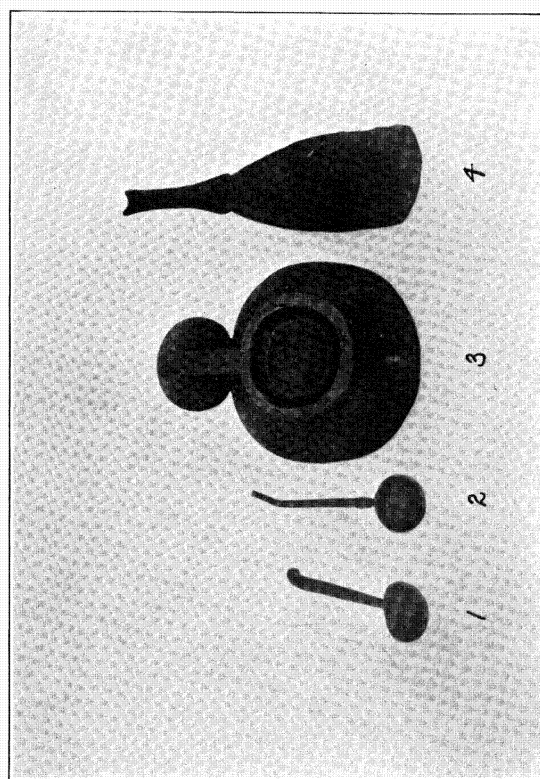


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXXXIII. IBALOI WOODEN HOUSE UTENSILS.
(1 and 2, *sub-tang*, cooking spoons; 3, *cha-go*, double food bowl, bottom view; 4, *sud-sud*, ladle for stirring rice wine.)

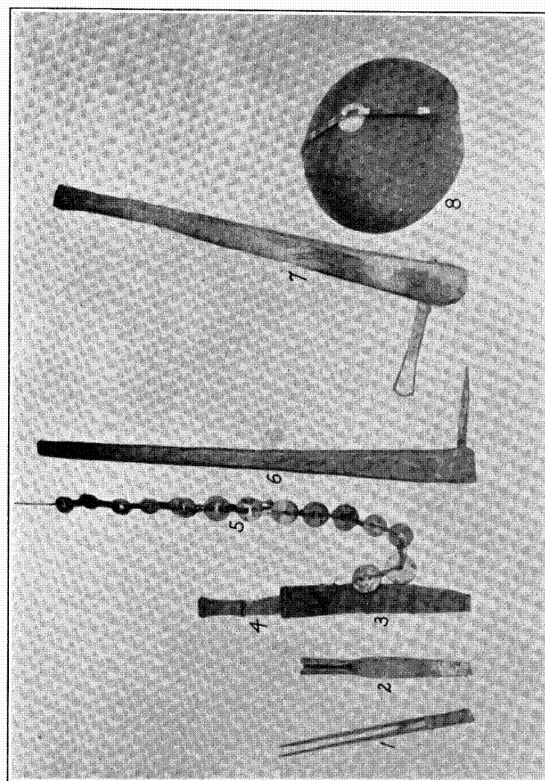


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXIV. (BALOI IMPLEMENTS, ETC.)

(1, *pal-kaag*, bamboo vibrating musical instrument, played by women by being struck on knee of pelvis; 2, *can-kaag*, iron blade of implement for digging canotes; 3, *at-ka*, knife, small; 4, *at-ka*, knife, large; 5, *mo-ka-ka*, girdle of carved shells, rare and expensive, usually worn as pendant from belt; 6, *cham-pat*, man's large knife; 7, *gao-sat*, man's working ax; same implement as 6, blade being interchanged; 8, *ka-ta-dong*, man's ritual hat.)

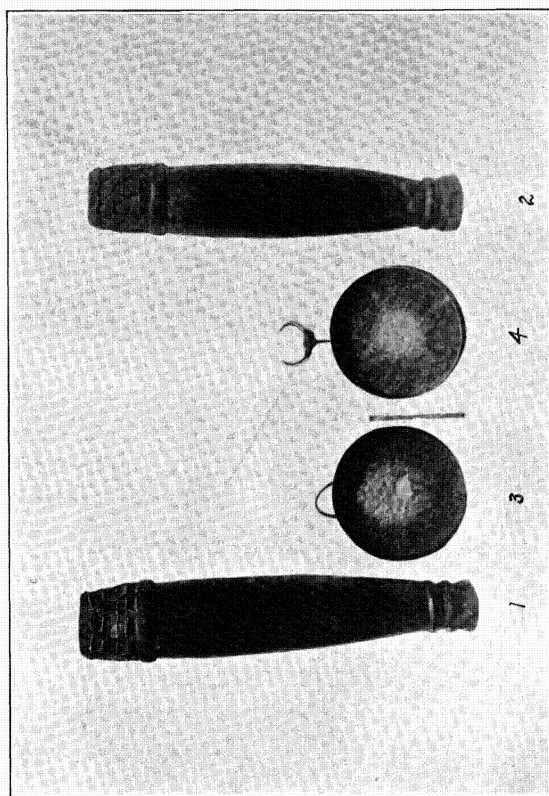


Photo by Worcester.
 PLATE LXXXV. IBALOI MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
 (1 and 2, *antilao* and *kanol*, hollow wooden drums with skin head over large end; 3 and 4, *koleo* and *plank*, bronze gongs.)

The beginning of the song is the following, the tune and the peculiar repetition of each new phrase remaining the same all through to the end:

Violin moderato



FIG. 2.—First line of a popular Ibaloi song.

Andao-ak chi Kaiapa, andao-ak chi Kaiapa
I go to Kaiapa, to Kaiapa I go



FIG. 3.—Second line of a popular Ibaloi song. (Same song as in fig. 2.)

Paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa, paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa
I take the road to Santa Rosa, to Santa Rosa the road I take

The following is a fragment of another ballad sung to the same ever rising and falling melody and with the same repetition of each line:

Ka-linas Ka-gang Bulan!
Thou brighten, I pray thee, Oh, moon!

Manalung ak nem kabuasan
Shall go down hill I when to-morrow

Nak manumkal ne pungan Ipungan nan asagoak
I shall be buyer of a pillow to serve as pillow of my wife

Ananak nem buasto
(Who) is to bear child when the day after to-morrow

Inaspol ko 's kapitan Anakbat ne kampilan
Have met I the headman shouldering the kampilan (saber)

Imbagan to twai daguan ko
Asked he where place of going mine

Inkuan ko, manalung ak chi Idoko
Said I, shall go down I to Ilkos

Kompolin to konó e toktok ko
Shall cut off he, said he, the head mine (etc.)

Another melody I have heard sung, once to a frivolous text and again with an extremely mournful cadence, as a sort of funeral hymn in which the friends of the deceased are invited to strike in his honor

the instruments¹ that serve the Igorot for beating time to their dances. I give the few notes² of which it consists with the latter text:

Sulibao, sulibao dyo!

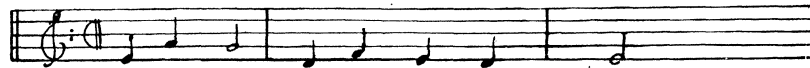


FIG. 4.—First line of an Ibaloi melody.

Kimbal, kimbal dyo!



FIG. 5.—Second line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in fig. 4.)

Kalsa, kalsa dyo! (etc.)



FIG. 6.—Third line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in figs. 4 and 5.)

The following is a rhyme for children, more recited than sung, a series of single words strung together, so to say, by the repetition before a following word of a part or the whole of the preceding one and by a methodical change of the accent which produces the rhythm. The words, mostly uncommon ones, I could not completely translate or get translated; the sense seems to be rather incoherent:

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Bagbagtó ---- | Bagbagtólambik | Tanabú ---- | Tanabúgaai |
| Tolambíg ---- | Tolambáwixan | Bugaíi ----- | Bugaálagpai |
| Bawixán ---- | Bawikálanai | Alagpái ---- | Alagpaipáiyaa |
| Kalanáí ---- | Kalanainápunai | Paiyaáú ---- | Paiyaauátimbau |
| Napunáí ---- | Napunaidiagta | Atimbáu ---- | Atimbaubáiangau |
| Diagtá ---- | Diagtánabu | [Etc.] | [Etc.] |

¹ The chief ones are the *sulibao* and the *kimbal*, two cannon-shaped wooden drums of about equal size but beaten differently, each by one man; the first, a little sharper in tone, receives with the inner side of the outstretched united four fingers of both hands a continuous, quick succession of double slaps, both slaps being short but sounding ones, to be represented approximately thus: Right-left, right-left, right-left, right-left. The *kimbal* is struck in the same manner but with the difference that only the right-hand slap, simultaneous with the right-hand slap of the *sulibao* player, resounds, while the left-hand stroke is applied so as to cut short at once and stifle the vibrations. The bass accompaniment furnished by the *kimbal* to the *sulibao* has therefore the following monotonous sound: Right', right', right', right'.

The hollow "túb-tub, túb-tub" produced by both deep-mouthed instruments can be heard for a distance of 8, 10, or more miles along the valley. Together with them are played two gongs, one called *kalsa*, the other *pínsak*. They closely resemble brass pans, and are held up with the left hand and struck with a wooden peg in the right. Their "tinkle-tinkle" is rather discordant with the heavy sound of the drums. The clacking of two iron batons, called *palás*, struck one against the other, completes the tattoo.

² For this as for the preceding bit of music I am indebted to Mr. C. Carballo, graduate of the Nautical School, Manila, who took it down after my singing.

NABALOI VOCABULARY¹

[Arranged by subjects, etc.]

Persons

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Man | dá-xi | Twins | si-ping; a-nu-nú-a |
| Woman | bi-i; a-ko'-dan (P., akulao) | Married man or woman | in-a-sá-goa |
| Person | to-o | Widower or widow | bá-lo |
| Old man | a-si-xen | Bachelor (old) or maid (old) | ba-lá-sang; an-chi-a- sá-goa ² |
| Old woman | a-bá-kol | The old people | su-ta a-teng |
| Young man | ba-lo da-xi | The young people | su-ta ba-lá-sang |
| Young woman | ma-ri-xit | A great talker | sa-xei a ma-nút-nut |
| Virgin | ma-ri-xit; ba-lá-sang | A silent person | sa-xei a ka-ka-a-ká- kad |
| Boy or girl | a-á-nak | Thief | na-xi-bót |
| Infant | ngák-nga | Hermaphrodite | bi-na-ba-e |
| Male infant | ngák-nga da-xi | | |
| Female infant | ngák-nga bi-i | | |

¹In this vocabulary syllables have been separated by hyphens for the sake of clearness in spelling; the nasal *ng* in the middle of a word must be pronounced as connecting two syllables.
²*Si-sken* is "old man" in all barrios of Itogon, Benguet; in Itogon proper and vicinity, *chi-pil*.

Parts of the human body

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Head | tok-tok | Chin | ti-mid |
| Hair | bu-og | Neck | buk-don ¹ |
| Crown of the head | a-di-tú-kan | Adam's apple | ta-din-nan |
| Scalp | ba-dat ni tok-tok | Goiter | bis-kel |
| Face | dú-pa | Body | áng-ael |
| Forehead | ta-mók | Shoulder | a-wa-da |
| Eye, pupil of the eye | ma-ta | Shoulder blade | ta-xeb |
| Eyelash | pas-pas | Back | bun-neg |
| Eyebrow | ka-chei | Breast of a man or of a woman (mamma) | su-su |
| Upper eyelid or lower eyelid | pa-lo-mai-at | Nipples | dup-dúp-an |
| Ear lobe | ta-bing-an | Hip | lí-pat |
| Ear | tang-i-da | Belly | a-kis |
| Perforation in ear | nad-bong | Navel | pu-sog |
| External opening of the ear | ku-lí-ding | Arm | tak-dai |
| Nose and ridge of nose | a-deng | Right ² arm | tak-dai-au-a-nán |
| Nostril | du-u-ngi-san | Left arm | tak-dai i-gid |
| Cheek | tam-il | Armpits | dyai-yog |
| Beard | i-ming | Elbow | si-xo |
| Mouth | bung-ot | Right elbow | si-xo au-a-nán |
| Upper lip, lower lip | su-bil | Left elbow | si-xo i-gid |
| Tooth | sang-i | Wrist | yag-yang-ó-an |
| Tongue | chi-la | Right wrist | yag-yang-ó-an au-a- nán |
| Saliva | tup-cha | Left wrist | yag-yang-ó-an i-gid |
| Palate | ka-lang-á-han | Hand | díma |
| Throat | ta-din-nan | Right hand | dí-ma au-a-nán |

¹ *Bek-leo*.
² See under "The noun," right, left, both.

Parts of the human body—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Left hand | dí-ma i-gid | Heel | ku-mot |
| Palm of hand | cha-lú-kap | Toe | ka-lu-mot |
| Back of hand | bun-nœg ni chalukap | Large toe | pa-nga-ngá-an ni sa-di |
| Fingers | ka-lu-mot | Fifth or small toe | ki-ging ni sa-di |
| Thumb | pa-nga-ngá-an | Toe nail | ko-xo ni sa-di |
| First finger | pa-tu-rú-an | Blood | chá-la |
| Second finger | pa-kau-á-an | Vein or artery | u-lat |
| Small finger | ki-ging | Brain | u-tœk |
| Finger nail | ko-xo | Bladder | bi-rung |
| Knuckle | bu-xo ni ka-lu-mot | Gall | áp-ko |
| Space between knuckles | sas-sa ni ka-lu-mot | Heart | pú-so |
| Rump | u-bed | Kidney | ba-tin |
| Leg | sa-di | Liver | al-tei |
| Thigh | ú-l-po | Stomach | bi-tu-ka |
| Knee | pu-eg | Rib | tag-dang |
| Kneecap | ka-úi-ká-uil | Vertebra, spine | pa-lik |
| Leg below knee, calf of the leg | da-da-long | Footprint | ká-tin |
| Ankle, ankle bone | tik-ding | Skin | ba-dát |
| Foot | cha-pan | Bone | pú-xil |
| | | Intestines | su-sút |

Clothing and ornaments

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|------------------------|--|--|-----------|
| Turban | pan-diët | Belt | ba-li-kes |
| Hat | ka-dú-bong | Jacket for women | sa-dei |
| Cap | ok-dop | Petticoat (short) | dí-wit |
| Waterproof | {ka-la-piáu; bang-áu ¹ tœch-ong ² | Necklace | un-no |
| Breechcloth | kó-bal | Earring, finger ring | ta-wing |
| Cloak | ka-táp; ú-lœs | Arm ring | ka-ring |
| Jacket, shirt | bá-ro | Knee ring (leg band between knee and calf) | ba-nei |
| Pantaloon, short pants | kal-son (Sp.) | Tattooing | ba-tœk |

¹ Grass or palm-leaf cover for men.² Wickerwork cover for women.*The house and field*

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Village | bá-lei ¹ | Bed | chu-kú-lan |
| Dwelling (permanent) | bá-lei; a-búng (small hut) | Pillow | pú-ngan |
| Doorway | u-sok-an; di-teb | Floor | cha-á-tal |
| Fire | a-pui | Ceiling | tá-lîb |
| Firewood | ki-u | Wall | chin-ching |
| Blaze | a-pui | Post | tad-mœg |
| A light | sí-lau | Joist | chi-sal |
| Living coals | nga-lab | Opening for window | ta-wa |
| Dead coals | u-ling | Stairway | ag-chan |
| | | Ladder | tei-tei |

¹ It seems as if the Igorot, from their custom of living dispersedly, lack a proper word for "village." They know, of course the Ilocano word for pueblo, "ili," but use it mostly in reference to Christian settlements.

The house and field—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Ashes | de-pok | A stone | bu-to |
| Smoke | a-sok | Road | cha-lan |
| Soot | da-gid | Field adjoining the house | bá-ang |
| A seat | tung-aú-an | Irrigating canal | ko-ló-kol |
| Chair | pa-lang-ka (Ilokano) | Spring | i-nu-man; a-su-lan |
| A post | to-xod | Water | cha-num |
| My home | bálei-ko | Roof | bu-bu-ngan |
| Torch (resinous pine wood) | (sa-leng) | Granary | a-lang |
| Mat | i-xá-men | Shanty | a-bong |

Weapons, implements, and utensils

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Bow of wood | be-kang ni pa-na ¹ | Buyo | kal-kal-en ² |
| Bowstring | gua-nit ni pa-na | Knife (bolo) | a-tak |
| Arrow | pa-na | Sheath | a-tip |
| Notch in end of arrow for bowstring | sed-da | Gun | pal-tok |
| Arrow shaft of wood | pa-na ki-u | Fork | te-ne-rol (Sp., tenedor) |
| Arrow shaft of reed | pa-na bido | Tablespoon (wooden) | i-rus |
| War club | pá-pa | Knife: | |
| War spear | ka-yang | Small open knife | ta-ad |
| Fish spear | ta-ra-pang | Penknife | dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta) |
| Shield | ka-la-sai | Plate (imported iron or earthen ware plate) | ping-kan |
| Fish line | i-xit | Cup (tabo, a bowl made of one-half of a coconut) | ung-ot |
| Fishhook | bing-nguit | Olla | bang-a |
| Net for catching fish | bal-cho | Copper kettle | kam-bang |
| Pipe (of any material) | kua-ko | Waterpot | sa-lao |
| Pipestem (of reed or of wood) | bu-qing | Sieve | a-xi-ak |
| Fish basket | bug-lut | Plow | a-ra-cho (Sp., arado) |
| Tobacco | ta-ba-ko | Harrow | sa-lui-sui |
| Cigar | pá-ris | Sickle | chá-kem |
| Cigarette | sa-ka-ril-dyó (Corr. Sp.) | | |
| Betel nut | bú-a | | |

¹The bow is not in use now in this tribe. The word "quiver" might be rendered *balei-to ni pana* (house of the arrow).
²Not used by the Ibaloi. Buyo is a piece of betel nut (the fruit of *Arceca catechu*) wrapped in a folded leaf of "piper betel" (T., ikmó), the latter having first been coated with lime made from oyster shells. The little disk so formed, called "ichó" in Tagalog, is chewed by the natives all over the Islands.

WOODEN WARE

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Mortar ¹ | du-son | A hollow calabash to bring water in | kú-be |
| Pestle ¹ | ba-yo | A wooden food tray ² | chú-yo |
| A bamboo to bring water in | daó-as | | |

¹For threshing and hulling rice.
²Carved out of one piece, comprising one or two bowls for boiled rice and meat, with salt-cellar, etc.

Weapons, implements, and utensils—Continued

IRON TOOLS

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|--------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Axe | gua-sai | Knife point | ngo-ro |
| Adze | cham-pak | Knife edge | tá-rem |
| Hoe | kab-yün | Borer | ko-ló-kol |
| Knife | tá-ad | Hammer of stone or | pá-pa |
| Knife handle | sa-lung | iron | |

Miscellaneous articles

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|----------------------------|
| Horn ladle | i-rus dya sak-dud |
| Flute | tu-la-di |
| Drum | su-li-bao; kim-bal |
| Gong or metal plates | kal-sa; pin-sak |
| Split cane, humming when beaten against wrist (not used during rainy season) | pá-kong (I., bu-kang-kang) |
| Small tin or brass plate with tongue cut in center; held before mouth and struck with thumb (the jew's-harp) | kó-ding |

BASKET WARE

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Basket for sweet potatoes, carried on back and supported by band passing over the head | ka-yá-bang |
| Rude skeleton basket for exporting Irish potatoes | sa-li-an (pronounced "salyan") |
| Large bowl-shaped basket of fine workmanship to keep rice or coffee beans | tad-tad |
| Small but strong wicker basket worn hung from the shoulder; the "pocket" of the half-naked Igorot | pál-teng |
| Square or oval traveling basket, sort of "tampipi," but the two halves hinged together on one side as a portmanteau; high-class workmanship | u-fi-kan |
| General carrying rack for men | chá-gi |

IMPLEMENTS FOR SEWING, WEAVING, SPINNING, ETC.

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Thread | sai-ot |
| To sew | ma-ná-it |
| To embroider | man-pad-dá |
| To cut | kom-pól |
| Needle | cha-kom |
| Scissors | ká-di |
| Buttons | bu-ti-nis (Sp., botones) |
| Cotton cloth, white with blue or red border stripes ¹ | ko-lu-bao |
| Cotton cloth, multicolored, striped stuff; black, blue, red, yellow stripes ¹ | bá-ked |
| Cotton cloth, chequered design, black and red or black and white squares ¹ | kam-bai-yá-cho |

¹ Ilocano cotton stuffs most in use among Igorot.

Food

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Food | ma-kan | Coffee | ká-pe (Sp.) |
| Meat {Uncooked | a-á-pag | Tea | í-tsa |
| {Cooked | ma-sí-dan ¹ | Oranges | ma-rang-kas (Sp., naranjas) |
| Soup (broth) | chí-gu | Lemons | lú-ban |
| Bread | tí-na-pai ² | Papaia ⁴ | pa-pá-dia |
| Corn (green) | tí-ge | Salt | a-sín |
| Milk | ká-tas | Sugar (molasses) | díng-ket |
| Honey | díng-ket ní-po-dio-kan | Sugar (other kinds) | ma-sam-it |
| Juice | chá-num (water) | Vinegar | su-ka |
| Sweet potatoes | dúk-to ³ | Lard | da-neb |
| Boiled rice | i-na-pui | Eggs | ex-duk |
| Roast meat | kín-dut | Jerked beef | ta-pa |
| Fried meat | i-sang-deu | Banana | bá-lad |
| Fish | i-kan | Cocoanut | ni-og |
| Beef | a-á-pag ne ba-ka | Chocolate | cacao (Sp.) |
| Pork | a-á-pag ne ké-chil | Mango | mang-ka |
| Potatoes | pá-pas | | |
| Onions | da-só-na | | |

¹ *Masidan* is generally anything eaten along with rice or camotes.
² Bought from the Christians.
³ Sanskrit, Ruktaloo.
⁴ The fruit of *Carica papaya*.

Colors ¹

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| Scarlet | am-bá-lang-a | Black | an-tó-leng |
| Vermilion | | Blue | |
| Red | | White | am-pu-tí |
| Brown | | Grey and sorrel | |
| Purple | | Green | vil-che (Corr. Sp.) ² |
| Roan | | Yellow | chu-yao ³ |

¹ As will be seen, there is a remarkable deficiency in distinction of colors among the Igorot, there appearing to be only three terms—*ambátanga* (red), *antóleng* (black), and *amputí* (white). The other colors are rather forcibly brought under one of these three main colors, according to their shade and to the individual opinion of the spectator.
² Vivid green (light, fresh green of grass or leaves) is called *ma-á-ta*, but this word covers really only the meaning of “vivid.”
³ Igorot pronunciation of the Ilocano word “du-yao.”

Numbers

CARDINAL

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| One | sa-xéi | Eight | gualo |
| Two | chúa | Nine | dsí-am |
| Three | tád-do | Ten | sam-pí-lo ¹ |
| Four | áp-pat | Eleven | sa-wal ne sa-xei |
| Five | dí-ma | Twelve | sa-wal ne chua |
| Six | an-nim | Thirteen | sa-wal ne táddo |
| Seven | pít-to | Fourteen | sa-wal ne áppat |

¹ *n* before *b*, *p*, or *m* generally becomes *m*.

Numbers—Continued

CARDINAL—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|-----------------|---|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Fifteen | sa-wal ne dima | One hundred three | san da-sus tan taddo |
| Sixteen | sa-wal ne annim | One hundred four | san da-sus tan appat |
| Seventeen | sa-wal ne pitto | One hundred five | san da-sus tan dima |
| Eighteen | sa-wal ne gualo | One hundred six | san da-sus tan annim |
| Nineteen | sa-wal ne dsiam | One hundred seven | san da-sus tan pitto |
| Twenty | chúa-púlo | One hundred eight | san da-sus tan gualo |
| Twenty-one | chúa-púlo saxei (or kad-do ne saxei) | One hundred nine | san da-sus tan dsiam |
| Twenty-two | chúa-púlo chua | One hundred ten | san da-sus tan sam- pulo |
| Twenty-three | chúa-púlo taddo | One hundred eleven | san da-sus tan sam- pulo tan saxei |
| Twenty-four | chúa-púlo appat | One hundred twelve | san da-sus tan sam- pulo tan chua |
| Twenty-five | chúa-púlo dima | Two hundred | chua dasus |
| Twenty-six | chúa-púlo annim | Three hundred | taddo dasus |
| Twenty-seven | chúa-púlo pitto | Four hundred | appat dasus |
| Twenty-eight | chúa-púlo gualo | Five hundred | dima dasus |
| Twenty-nine | chúa-púlo dsiam | Six hundred | annim dasus |
| Thirty | taddo-pulo | Seven hundred | pitto dasus |
| Thirty-one | taddo-pulo saxei (or ka-ap-pat ne saxei) | Eight hundred | gualo dasus |
| Forty | appat-pulo | Nine hundred | dsiam dasus |
| Fifty | dima-pulo | One thousand | san dibo |
| Sixty | annim-pulo | One-half (in length) | } ka-gu-chua |
| Seventy | pitto-pulo | One-half (in quantity) | |
| Eighty | gualo-pulo | All | a-min |
| Ninety | dsiam-pulo | Some | a-chum |
| One hundred | san da-sus | None | an-chi |
| One hundred one | san da-sus tan saxei | | |
| One hundred two | san da-sus tan cuha | | |

ORDINAL

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| First | ma-pang-du | Eighteenth | mai sawal ni gualo |
| Second | mai-kad-gua | Nineteenth | mai sawal ni dsiam |
| Third | mai-kaddo | Twentieth | mai chua pulo |
| Fourth | mai kapat | Thirtieth | mai taddo pulo |
| Fifth | mai kadima | Fortieth | mai appat pulo |
| Sixth | mai kadannim | Fiftieth | mai dima pulo |
| Seventh | mai kapitto | Sixtieth | mai annim pulo |
| Eighth | mai kagualo | Seventieth | mai pitto pulo |
| Ninth | mai kadsiam | Eightieth | mai gualo pulo |
| Tenth | mai kasampulo | Ninetieth | mai dsiam pulo |
| Eleventh | mai sawal ni saxei | One hundredth | mai san dasus |
| Twelfth | mai sawal ni chua | Two hundredth | mai chuan dasus |
| Thirteenth | mai sawal ni taddo | Four hundredth | mai appat dasus |
| Fourteenth | mai sawal ni appat | Five hundredth | mai dima dasus |
| Fifteenth | mai sawal ni dima | Seven hundredth | mai pitto dasus |
| Sixteenth | mai sawal ni annim | Thousandth | mai san dibo |
| Seventeenth | mai sawal ni pitto | Last | man-á-nud |

Numbers—Continued

NUMERAL ADVERBS DENOTING REPETITION OF ACTION

| English. | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Once | pinsak | Fourteen times | pin-sawal appat |
| Twice | pinchua | Fifteen times | pin-sawal dima |
| Thrice | pintaddo | Sixteen times | pin-sawal annim |
| Four times | pinappat | Seventeen times | pin-sawal pitto |
| Five times | pindima | Eighteen times | pin-sawal gualo |
| Six times | pinannim | Nineteen times | pin-sawal dsiam |
| Seven times | pinpitto | Twenty times | pin chua pulo |
| Eight times | pingualo | Thirty times | pin taddo pulo |
| Nine times | pindsiam | Forty times | pin appat pulo |
| Ten times | pinpulo | Fifty times | pin dima pulo |
| Eleven times | pin-sawal saxei | One hundred times | pin dasus |
| Twelve times | pin-sawal chua | Five hundred times | pin dima dasus |
| Thirteen times | pin-sawal taddo | One thousand times | pin dibo |

MULTIPLICATIVES

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Two-fold | to-pe | Thirteen-fold | sawal taddo tope |
| Three-fold | taddo tope | Fourteen-fold | sawal appat tope |
| Four-fold | appat tope | Fifteen-fold | sawal dima tope |
| Five-fold | dima tope | Sixteen-fold | sawal annim tope |
| Six-fold | annim tope | Seventeen-fold | sawal pitto tope |
| Seven-fold | pitto tope | Eighteen-fold | sawal gualo tope |
| Eight-fold | gualo tope | Nineteen-fold | sawal dsiam tope |
| Nine-fold | dsiam tope | Twenty-fold | chua pulo tope |
| Ten-fold | sam pulo tope | Thirty-fold | taddo pulo tope |
| Eleven-fold | sawal saxei tope | Forty-fold | appat pulo tope |
| Twelve-fold | sawal chua tope | Fifty-fold | dima pulo tope |

DISTRIBUTIVES

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| One to each | san-sis-kei saxei | Fourteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan appat |
| Two to each | san-sis-kei chua | Fifteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dima |
| Three to each | san-sis-kei taddo | Sixteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan annim |
| Four to each | san-sis-kei appat | Seventeen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan pitto |
| Five to each | san-sis-kei dima | Eighteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan gualo |
| Six to each | san-sis-kei annim | Nineteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dsiam |
| Seven to each | san-sis-kei pitto | Twenty to each | san-sis-kei chua pulo |
| Eight to each | san-sis-kei gualo | Thirty to each | san-sis-kei taddo pulo |
| Nine to each | san-sis-kei dsiam | Forty to each | san-sis-kei appat pulo |
| Ten to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo | Fifty to each | san-sis-kei dima pulo |
| Eleven to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan saxei | | |
| Twelve to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan chua | | |
| Thirteen to each | san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan taddo | | |

Measures

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|--|
| Dry measures for rice, coffee, etc.: Small, round, open basket, depth and diameter of which are held to correspond with measures taken from length of a finger and from span between outstretched thumb and first finger, respectively Two sizes: (1) Contents selling at 1 real = 12½ cents, Mexican; (2) contents selling at 2 reales = 25 cents, Mexican Also the "caban" introduced by Spaniards and commonly represented by four times the contents of the rectangular five-gallon oil can | ta-páng-an |
| Long measures: To measure Length of first finger Span between tips of outstretched thumb and middle finger From middle of breast to tip of middle finger of outstretched arm Full spread of both arms from tip of one middle finger to the other | mai-dó-xod do-xod ká-guan vara (Sp.); or, ka-gu-chua chi-pa chi-pa |
| Land measures: (1) For rice fields, the number is stated of bundles of paddy yielded by the fields (2) For pasture land, the number of cattle is stated that find sufficient pasture on the area in question | appat pulo katanai ¹ kus-to ni bung-dé ² |
| Weight measures for gold dust (a pair of scales) Weight of Mexican dollar or old Spanish "Carlos" dollar Weight of Spanish 50-cent piece Weight of Spanish 2-real piece Weight of Spanish 1-real piece or of bronze piece coined by the Igorot | ta-lá-dyo tim-bang pí-sus tim-bang sólapi tim-bang bin-ting tim-bang si-ka-pat |

¹ = Forty bundles of paddy.

² = Sufficient for 50 head of cattle.

Division of time

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A year | taó-en | Night | kal-bian, a-dá-wi |
| A moon | bú-lan | Sunrise | na-a-kou |
| One-quarter waxing moon | i-xai ba-lal-to | Morning | ka-bu-bú-san |
| Two-quarters waxing moon | tañ-do ba-lal-to | Midforenoon | si-ma-kit i-si-kid |
| Three-quarters waxing moon | mang-ka buk-nal | Noon | ka-a-kau-an |
| Full moon | mai-ping-il; or, a-buk-nol | Afternoon | i-nás-gil |
| Three-quarters waning moon | a-pig-ni-san | Sunset | i-nai-si-pí-sib |
| Two-quarters waning moon | mang-ka-ko-ó-tik | Dusk | a-dá-wi |
| One-quarter waning moon | a-ko-ó-tik | Evening | i-ma-chem |
| Moon showing rim of light | ned-ned; or, de-ned | Midnight | i-nan-kau-a e da-wi |
| Day | a-kou | Day before yesterday | ka-chi-man saxei |
| A day (24 hours) | saxei a-kou tan saxei a-da-wi ¹ | Yesterday | ka-chi-man |
| | | To-day | ni-man |
| | | To-morrow | ka-bua-san |
| | | Day after to-morrow | bu-as-to |
| | | Now (adverb) | ni man |
| | | Past time (adverb) | nun-tan |
| | | Future time (adverb) | a-kai, a-sa-nem |
| | | A second or instant ² | saxei ka-ri-nub-da-an |
| | | Dawn | mang-kai-tel-guag |

¹ One day and one night.

² In the sense of a very short time. (Lit.: Time for a few whiffs of tobacco.)

Standards of value

| English | Nabaloi |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 0.01½, Mexican (2 cuartos, Spanish) | san si-mon |
| 0.02½, Mexican (4 cuartos, Spanish) | chua si-mon |
| 0.03½, Mexican (6 cuartos, Spanish) | taddo si-mon |
| 0.05, Mexican (8 cuartos, Spanish) | appat si-mon |
| 0.06½, Mexican (medio real, Spanish) | si-ka-gúa-lo |
| 0.12½, Mexican (1 real, Spanish) | si-ka-pát |
| 0.25, Mexican (2 reales, Spanish) | bin-ting |
| 0.20, Mexican (peseta) | a-lin-ta-rós ¹ |
| 0.37½, Mexican (3 reales) | taddo ba-gé |
| 0.50, Mexican (4 reales) | sa-lá-pi |
| 0.62½, Mexican (5 reales) | kad-gua sikapat |
| 0.75, Mexican (6 reales) | kadgua bin-ting |
| 0.87½, Mexican (7 reales) | kadgua taddo ba-gé |
| 1.00, peso, Mexican (8 reales) | pi-sus ² |

¹ Corrupted from “treinta y dos”—that is, 32 cuartos.
² Corrupted from “peso.” In former times the Igorot understood by *pisus* 50 cents, Mexican, and even nowadays one hears occasionally the expression *pisus i xudut* (50 cents, Mexican) and *pisus cristiano* (1 peso, Mexican).

Animals

MAMMALS

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Bat | pa-ning-ke | Goat | kal-ching |
| Carabao | nú-ang | Kid | ki-lao ne kal-ching |
| Cat (wild) | mú-tít | Wild hog | a-ni-mu-lok |
| Dog | a-sú | Horse | ka-ba-dyo (Sp., caballo) |
| Deer | ma-xá-goas ¹ | Pig | ke-chil |
| Mouse (stone) | bu-ed | Sucking pig | but-bu-tóg |
| Rat (common house) | o-tot | Young sow | da-wás |
| Monkey | ba-xes | Mother sow | ká-ang |
| Cow | ba-ka (Sp., vaca) | Boar | mul-mul |
| Bull | ka-da-ki-an ne ba-ka ² | Eagle | pú-xao |

¹ See under “Noun.”
² Or *kal-ki-an ne ba-ka*.

PARTS OF THE BODY OF MAMMALS

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| Antlers | sak-dud | Muscle | úl-po |
| Anus | u-bed | Meat | a-á-pag |
| Bone | pu-xil | Paw | ka-lu-mot |
| Brain | u-tøk | Penis | bu-to |
| Claw | ka-lu-mod | Rib | tag-dang |
| Dung | ta-e | Rump | u-bed |
| Fat | da-neb | Skull | pu-xil ne tok-tok |
| Fur | bá-go | Stomach | bi-tú-ka |
| Hoof | ko-ko | Skin | ba-dát |
| Hide | ka-tát | Tail | i-gol |
| Horn | sak-dud | Tendon | u-lat |
| Hair | bu-æk | Teeth | sang-i |
| Heart | pu-so | Tongue | chi-la |
| Intestines | so-sot | Testicles | bu-tik |
| Joint | am-deng | Womb | ka-a-na-kan |
| Liver | al-tei | | |

Animals—Continued

BIRDS

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Bird | pa-yad | Crow | uák |
| Hen | u-bú-an | Hornbill | ka-lou |
| Cock | kao-i-tan | Heron and crane | bi-til |
| Jungle hen | ubúau ni man-ma-nok | Spine | kwat |
| Jungle cock | kaoitan ni man-ma-nok | Parrot | u-ling-eb |
| Wild duck | nga-la | Parroquet | u-lis |
| Hawk | pú-xao | Pigeon | ka-la-pá-ti; or, ka-lum-pá-te |

PARTS OF THE BODY OF BIRDS

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------|
| Feathers | bá-go | Head | tok-tok |
| Bill | ngú-sib | Neck | buk-dou |
| Mouth | bungot | Body | ang-œl |
| Gizzard | ka-lang-a-han | Back | bung-neg |
| Intestines | su-sút | Wing | pa-yad |
| Eye | ma-ta | Tail feathers | pól-chus |
| Ear | tang-i-da | Leg | ul-po |
| Nostril | a-deng | Foot | sa-di |
| Eyelid | pa-lo-mai-at | Toe | kó-xo |

FISH, ETC.

| | | | |
|------|--------|------|---------|
| Fish | i-kan | Crab | ka-dang |
| Eel | ki-wod | | |

PARTS OF THE BODY, ETC., OF FISH

| | | | |
|------------|---------|---------|-------------|
| Mouth | bung-ot | Eye | ma-ta |
| Breast fin | i-fai | Bladder | bi-rung |
| Belly fin | | Gall | áb-ko |
| Back fin | | Scales | sik-sik |
| Tail fin | | To swim | mang-ai-kai |

REPTILES, ETC.

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| Frog (small) | bak-bak-án' | Snake (big) | i-reu |
| Lizard (big) | tí-lai | Snake (small) | u-lœg |
| Lizard (small) | a-du-ti-id | | |

INSECTS

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Ant, three kinds | {a-bu-bu-kau ú-bo kab-kab | Flea | te-mil |
| Bedbug | ki-tep | Fly | a-pang-at |
| Bee | po-dió-kan | Grasshopper | bu-dá-deng |
| Beetle (tumblebug), two kinds | {ki-is dog-dog | Locust | chu-ron |
| Butterfly | bul-búl-o | Louse | ku-to |
| Caterpillar | ku-báo-eng | Maggot | dí-mas |
| | | Mosquito | i-mok |
| | | Spider | a-kai-aú-gua |
| | | Wasp (yellow) | a-bi-ung-an |

Plants

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------------|--------------|----------|--------------------------|
| Bud of tree | man-bub-ngis | Brush | dó-ot |
| Leaf | bu-long | A flower | bung-a |
| Limb | pang-a | Forest | ka-kiú-an |
| Outside bark | ta-pák | Fruit | da-moes |
| Body of trunk | bág-dang | Grass | a-det |
| Stump | tong-ót | Thicket | sab-nid |
| Root | da-mot | Ripe | adúum |
| Tree | po-on | Unripe | á-neng (Lit.: “Not yet”) |
| Wood | ki-u | | |

Geographic terms

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| North | a-miá-nan | River | pá-dok |
| East | chá-ya | Waterfall | mai-pai-as-pás |
| South | a-ba-gá-tan | Lake | ambánao chanum (broad water) |
| West | dá-ut; or, lá-ut | Sea | bai-bai |
| Mountain | chun-tuk | Country (of a nation or people) | bí-dai |
| Hill | pél-og | Town | } ili ¹ |
| Plain | chák-dan | Village | |
| Spring | { a-sú-lan { í-nu-man | Group of Igorot houses | ba-lei (houses) |
| Hot spring | a-sin (salt) | | |
| Brook | sing-i | | |

¹ The Ilocano word “ili” is used, but mostly to designate Christian towns.

Geographic names¹

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Names of towns of the Ibaloi Igorot | { | Sablan: A certain tree with brilliant red blossoms. |
| | | Chakdan; or, daklan: A level place in the hills. |
| | | Kapaway (old name of rancheria Baguio): Open, grass-covered lands. |
| | | Balangawan: A place where red soil shows at the surface. |
| | | Thus also: Kaptangan: The warm land—that is, the warm foothills and plains west and south of Benguet. |

¹ Names to designate certain places or localities, whether inhabited or not, are commonly taken from the most prominent or most noteworthy natural features of the same.

Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Cloud or clouds | kul-pot; or, al-béng | Current | a-yus |
| Sky | dang-it | Eddy | dí-wun |
| Horizon | ki-lig ní dang-it | Overflow (big water) | abatek chanum |
| Sun { As cause of light { As cause of warmth | á-kou ¹ | Rain | ú-ran |
| | si-kit | Thunder | ke-rul |
| | | Lightning | ba-gí-dat |

¹ For comparative study bear in mind that the very darkly pronounced “ou” in *akou*, *pátou* and similar words is the “ao” of the Ilocano.

Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Moon | bú-lan | Wind | cha-gœm |
| Full moon | ping-il | Whirlwind | a-di-fut-fut |
| Planets and stars | tá-lao | Typhoon | pū-ek |
| Aurora | mam-bub-tak i si-kit | The ground | bú-dai |
| Rainbow | bung-dul | Dust | dep-pok |
| Fog | kul-pot | Mud | pí-toi |
| Frost | ang-chap | Sand | bí-sil |
| Hail | dan-te | Salt | a-sín |
| Water | chá-num | Rock, stone | ba-to |
| Image reflected by | } a-di-rum | Earthquake | yek-yek |
| water | | Shower | san a-te-xan e ú-ran |
| Shadow | } u-sab | Heavy rain | ma-chi-kis ú-ran |
| Foam | | Morning star | Ma-mú-as |
| Wave | cha-du-yon | | |

Kinship

LINEAL DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|--------------------------|
| My son | a-nak-ko |
| My son's son | } á-po-ko nanpinsak |
| My son's daughter | |
| My son's son's son | } á-po nan kapinchua |
| My son's daughter's son | |
| My son's son's daughter | |
| My son's daughter's daughter | |
| My son's son's son's son | } á-po-ko nan kapintaddo |
| My son's son's son's daughter | |
| My son's son's daughter's son | |
| My son's son's daughter's daughter | |
| My daughter | anak-ko |
| My daughter's daughter | } á-po-ko nan pinsak |
| My daughter's son | |
| My daughter's son's son | } á-po-ko nan kapinchúa |
| My daughter's son's daughter | |
| My daughter's daughter's son | |
| My daughter's daughter's daughter | |
| My daughter's daughter's son's son | } á-po-ko nan kapintaddo |
| My daughter's daughter's son's daughter | |
| My daughter's daughter's daughter's son | |
| My daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter | |

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| My father | a-mak |
| My father's father | ama nan amak |
| My father's mother | i-na nan amak |
| My father's father's father | } á-po-nan amak |
| My father's father's mother | |
| My father's mother's father | |
| My father's mother's mother | |

¹ Lineal descendants of self, female speaking; lineal ascendants of self, female speaking; and first collateral line, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

Kinship—Continued

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING—Continued

| English | Nabaloi |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| My father's father's father's father | ama nan ápo nan amak |
| My father's father's father's mother | ina nan ápo nan amak |
| My mother | i-nak |
| My mother's father | ama nan inak |
| My mother's mother | ina nan inak |
| My mother's father's father | } á-po nan inak |
| My mother's father's mother | |
| My mother's mother's father | |
| My mother's mother's mother | |
| My mother's mother's mother's father | ama nan ápo nan inak |
| My mother's mother's mother's mother | ina nan ápo nan inak |

FIRST COLLATERAL LINE, MALE SPEAKING¹

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| My older brother | a-gik pang u-du-an |
| My older brother's son | } anak nan agik panguduan |
| My older brother's daughter | |
| My older brother's son's son | } á-po nan agik panguduan |
| My older brother's daughter's daughter | |
| My older brother's son's son's son | |
| My older brother's daughter's daughter's daughter | |
| My older sister | agik panguduan |
| My older sister's son | } anak nan agik panguduan |
| My older sister's daughter | |
| My older sister's son's son | } á-po nan agik panguduan |
| My older sister's daughter's daughter | |
| My older sister's son's son's son | |
| My older sister's daughter's daughter's daughter | |
| My younger brother | agik urichian |
| My younger brother's son | } anak nan urichian-ko |
| My younger brother's daughter | |
| My younger brother's son's son | } á-po nan urichian-ko |
| My younger brother's daughter's daughter | |
| My younger sister | agik urichian |
| My younger sister's son | } anak nan urichian-ko |
| My younger sister's daughter | |
| My younger sister's son's son | } á-po nan urichian-ko |
| My younger sister's daughter's daughter | |

¹See footnote on page 162.

AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| My son's wife | asagoa nan anak-ko |
| My son's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo-ko |
| My son's daughter's husband | |
| My daughter's husband | asagoa nan anak-ko |
| My daughter's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo-ko |
| My daughter's daughter's husband | |

¹ Affinities through relatives descendants of self, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING ¹

| English | Nabaloi |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| My wife | a-sa-go-ak |
| My wife's father | ama nan asagoak; or, inapok |
| My wife's father's father | } á-po nan asagoak |
| My wife's father's mother | |
| My wife's father's brother | pang-a-má-an nan asagoak |
| My wife's father's brother's wife | asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak |
| My wife's father's sister | pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak |
| My wife's father's sister's husband | asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother | ina nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother's father | } á-po nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother's mother | |
| My wife's mother's brother | pangamáan nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother's brother's wife | asagoa nan pangamáan nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother's sister | pangináan nan asagoak |
| My wife's mother's sister's husband | asagoa nan pangináan nan asagoak |
| My wife's elder brother | agi panguduan nan asagoa |
| My wife's elder brother's wife | asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak |
| My wife's younger brother | agi urichian nan asagoak |
| My wife's younger brother's wife | asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak |
| My wife's brother's son | } anak nan agi nan asagoak |
| My wife's brother's daughter | |
| My wife's elder sister | panguduan nan asagoak |
| My wife's elder sister's husband | asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak |
| My wife's younger sister | urichian nan asagoak |
| My wife's younger sister's husband | asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak |
| My wife's sister's son | } anak nan agi nan asagoak |
| My wife's sister's daughter | |

¹ See footnote at bottom of page 163.

AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES, FIRST COLLATERAL LINE

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| My elder brother's wife | asagoa nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder brother's wife's sister | agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder brother's son's wife | } asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder brother's daughter's husband | |
| My elder brother's son's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder brother's daughter's daughter's husband | |
| My elder sister's husband | asagoa nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder sister's husband's sister | agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder sister's daughter's husband | } asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder sister's son's wife | |
| My elder sister's son's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko |
| My elder sister's daughter's daughter's husband | |
| My younger brother's wife | asagoa nan urichian-ko |
| My younger brother's son's wife | } asagoa nan anak urichian-ko |
| My younger brother's daughter's husband | |
| My younger brother's son's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko |
| My younger brother's daughter's daughter's husband | |
| My younger sister's husband | asagoa nan urichian-ko |
| My younger sister's son's wife | } asagoa nan anak nan urichian-ko |
| My younger sister's daughter's husband | |
| My younger sister's son's son's wife | } asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko |
| My younger sister's daughter's daughter's husband | |

Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, FEMALE SPEAKING

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| My husband | asagoak |
| My husband's father | ama nan asagoak |
| My husband's father's father | }apo nan asagoak |
| My husband's father's mother | |
| My husband's father's brother | pang-a-má-an nan asagoak |
| My husband's father's brother's wife | asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak |
| My husband's father's sister | pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak |
| My husband's father's sister's husband | asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother | ina nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother's father | }a-po nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother's mother | |
| My husband's mother's brother | pang-a-má-an nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother's brother's wife | asagoa nan pangamáan nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother's sister | pangináan nan asagoak |
| My husband's mother's sister's husband | asagoa nan pangináan nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder brother | panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder brother's wife | asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's younger brother | urichian nan asagoak |
| My husband's younger brother's wife | asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder brother's son | }anak nan panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder brother's daughter | |
| My husband's elder sister | panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder sister's husband | asagao nang panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's younger sister | urichian nan asagoak |
| My husband's younger sister's husband | asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder sister's son | }anak nan panguduan nan asagoak |
| My husband's elder sister's daughter | |

Ordinal names of children

| English | Nabaloi |
|---|----------------------|
| The first-born child (male or female) | anak panguduan |
| The second-born child (male or female) | adi-to nan panguduan |
| The third-born child (male or female) | adi nan kapinchua |
| The fourth-born child (male or female) | adi nan kapintaddo |
| The fifth-born child (male or female) | adi nan kapinappat |
| The sixth-born child (male or female) | adi nan kapindima |
| The seventh-born child (male or female) | adi nan kapinannim |

Various social terms

| English | Nabaloi |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Male orphan, father dead | }ang-ú-so |
| Male orphan, mother dead | |
| Male orphan, father and mother dead | |
| Female orphan, father and mother dead | |
| Female orphan, father dead | |
| Female orphan, mother dead | |

Various social terms—Continued

| English | Nabaloi |
|---|--|
| Father whose children have all died | { inabsúan; or, achágas amin anak-to a-neng kabuknól-to; or, a-neng kada-gá to ¹ |
| Mother whose children have all died | |
| Stillborn male child | |
| Stillborn female child | |
| Family | bu-nak |
| Head of family | ama tayo (our father) |
| Relatives | ka-ba-kian |
| Number of families recognizing one common headman | ba-lang-kai |
| A rich man | saxeí a bák-nang |
| A poor man | saxeí a a-bí-tek |
| An adopted child | si-u mán |
| The oldest men of the place | suta asixen na angka; or, suta asixen na bayag |
| A servant | saxeí a úbíng; or, óxob |
| The priestess, or old woman executing the superstitious formulas at festivals | man-bu-bú-nong |
| Persons possessing the "evil eye" ("den bösen Blick"), or witch | man-ma-lá-sik |

¹These two terms mean "not yet formed" and "unfinished."

Festive slaughterings and drinking bouts

| English | Nabaloi |
|---|---|
| On childbirth | man-ta-i-din |
| To cure sickness | a-gas; or, chí-lus |
| At funerals (with exposure of dead body) | ðab-sak |
| At marriage | man-i-din |
| Of other social character | { set-páng bat-bat ka-fe pe-chit |
| | { sap-nak |
| Of the poor or ordinary people controlled by a rich man | ka-i-dían (l., kailian) |
| Gathering of neighbors to help gratuitously one of their number in some heavy labor with subsequent slaughtering of an animal ("log rolling") | mai-ka-mal |

Government

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Councilman | man-to-tó-dak; or, man-tab-táb-al |
| Meeting of principal men of one valley to administer justice | ma-tong-tong |
| Friend (one of the tribe) | { ka-i-sing (l., gai-yem) |
| Friend (one of another tribe) | |
| Enemy (one of the tribe or two persons hating one another) | a-nú-gis |
| Enemy (one of another tribe) | ka-bú-sol |
| Slave (servant, such as the son of a debtor, etc.) | óxob |

Government—Continued

| English | Nabaloi |
|--|---|
| Follower | ká-et |
| War | bá-kal |
| A coward | ti-méng-dao; or, ti-má-xot |
| Battle | bá-kal |
| War whoop | tap-ngan |
| A brave man | ma-ta-kal a-lé |
| God (the Supreme Ruler, the white man's God) | chi-us |
| The supreme god of the Igorot | ka-bu-ní-an ¹ |
| The ancients; venerable beings of the past | á-med |
| The future world | pí-lag ² |
| The specters of dead people | ma-king ³ (mal-kut (I., al-al-ia) |
| The peculiar solemn condition which an Igorot (or a whole family) believes himself to be in and which he is required to keep up, under penalty of punishment from the <i>ma-king</i> , at certain phases of his life (marriage, death of a parent, etc.) | pí-diu ⁴ |

¹This god seems to be recognized by the Igorot all over the northern part of Luzon. His most sublime manifestation in Benguet is the Sun. But there is no especial worship rendered him in Benguet or it is forgotten in the special attention required by the troublesome *ma-king*.

²Supposed to be situated somewhere far away to the east.

³If a snake, which in the woods avoids man, comes to the house it is looked upon as *ma-king* and not killed.

⁴The Igorot, while *pídiu*, must not bathe, must not admit visitors into his house, and must not work, travel, etc. (English, "to be under a spell").

Mortuary customs etc.

| English | Nabaloi |
|---|---------------------|
| Dead body | } ang-cel nan á-tei |
| Corpse of man | |
| Corpse of woman | |
| Corpse of boy | |
| Corpse of girl | |
| Spirit or soul | adí-rum |
| Grave in the ground | a-nai-boeg-ká-an |
| Scaffold for the dead | a-ra-dan |
| Grave in a cave | dí-ang |
| Coffin | ko-long |
| Funeral festival | tó-xal; dab-sak |
| The wailing | dú-dyeng |
| Bark arm band worn around the wrist by members of mourning family | ka-ring bí-nal-bal |
| Funeral meal to provide departed soul with food; on occurrence of death | pa-u-dú-fan |
| Funeral meal at the tomb of a dead relative, with the idea of reconciling his specter by food, etc., offered to him | ma-u-ká-ten |

Bodily conditions, etc.

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Sickness | } sa-kit | A blind man | } saxeia kú-rab |
| Pain | | A blind woman | |
| Indisposition | kol-ko-li-di | A blind boy | } saxeia a a-á-nak a kú-rub |
| Vertigo | bud-bu-ding-et | A blind girl | |

Bodily conditions, etc.—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|--------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Headache | man-kil-kil e tok-tok | One eyed | a-tu-ni-ngan |
| Toothache | ket-ket | A deaf men | } a-tú-leng |
| Cold | na-aløg | A deaf woman | |
| Ague | } man-a-apui-ang-el | A deaf boy | } saxei a a-á-nak atú- |
| Fever | | A deaf girl | |
| Diarrhea | o-toi | Breath | ang-sab |
| Rheumatism | pil-li | Sweat | ding-et |
| Smallpox | bul-tong | Blood | chá-la |
| A boil | bal-og | Urine | mí-mi |
| A sore | cha-nu-man i-na-ket | Dung | tá-e |
| A cut | i-na-ket | Medicine | á-gas |
| A scar | man-ka-pi-get | A medicine man | } man-á-gas |
| A swelling | di-má-rag | A medicine woman | |
| Beri-beri | man-bú-tot | Medicine dance, song, and lodge | (¹) |
| A sick man | } saxei a man-sa-kit | A dream | dyó-kou |
| A sick woman | | A vision | chím-kas |
| A lame man | } saxei a pí-lai | A witch | } man malásik; ² or, man-tá-la ³ |
| A lame woman | | A wizard | |
| A lame boy | } saxei a a-á-nak a pí-lai | | |
| A lame girl | | | |

¹In Igorot belief all kinds of sickness can be cured by the slaughtering of a pig, that universal remedy for all Igorot suffering, attributed mostly to the ill-will of the *ma-king* (departed souls). This cure is called *agas* or *chilus*; to make it efficient the *manbunong* (priestess) must be called in to go through the proper formulas or ceremonies.

²The Malays of Menangkabao (Sumatra) call *palasik* or *palasi-ek* sorcerers which at nightfall separate their heads and bowels from the trunk. The head flies about to suck the blood of newborn children and lying-in women." (Translation from Blumentritt's *Diccionario Mitológico*, Apendice, in *La Solidaridad*, 15 April, 1904.)

³One is supposed to live in Balingway—name, *Si-náp-chan*—supposed to have cursed Canao's father and caused him to move from Paduk to another town. Saved by putting spear in a dog between two bolos. Also one in Takian.

Amusements

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| Doll | si-nan-to-o | Song | bá-deu |
| Gourd rattle | a-mai-yo | Dance | taí-yau |
| Stilts | ka-ma-chang | Mask | ki-yet |
| Swing | á-yud | Game at dice | pa-á-dek |

New words

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|---------|--|------------|-----------------------|
| Horse | ka-ba-dyo (Sp., ca- ballo) | Hog | ke-chil |
| Colt | bu-má-lo | Cat | pusa; or, ngi-au |
| Bull | kal-kí-an nan ba-ka | Kitten | kú-ting nan púsa |
| Ox | ba-ka ka-fon; or, bet- ter, ba-ka a ka-fon (Sp.) | Cock | kao-i-tan |
| Cow | ba-ka (Sp., vaca) | Hen | u-bú-an |
| Calf | ki-lao nan baka | Saddle | síl-dya (Sp., silla) |
| Sheep | kal-nero (Sp., carnero) | Saddle pad | ap-ap |
| | | Bridle | pirino (Sp., freno) |
| | | Girth | dín-cha (Sp., cincha) |
| | | Rope | guá-net |

New words—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Whip | bá-ras (Sp., vara) | Pants | kal-son (Sp., calzon) |
| Crupper | pang-i-ko-la (Sp., baticola) | Shoes | sa-fa-tos (Sp., zapatos) |
| Auger | ko-ló-kol | Boots | bo-tas (Sp.) |
| Iron arrowhead | } du-djub | Slippers | si-ne-las (Sp., chinelas) |
| Iron point in general | | Stockings | medias (Sp.) |
| Awls of metal | sub-dil; or, guis-guis | Handkerchief | pan-dyo (Sp., paño) |
| Beads | ún-no | Bread | ti-ná-pai |
| Broom | sí-sí | Flour | arina (Sp., harina) |
| Cloth | a-bæl | Rice, coffee, meal | ti-ne-peng |
| Comb (small) | sá-gú | Match, friction | mai-ko-sit ne ku-ra-bis ¹ |
| Comb (big) | sa-gai-sai | Box of matches | ku-ra-bis |
| Clock | di-rus (Sp., reloj) | Candle | kan-chi-la (Sp., candela) |
| Knife (small) | tá-ad | Sugar | ding-kit am-puti |
| Penknife | dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta) | Soap | sa-bón (Sp., jabon) |
| Fork | tene-rol; te ne chol (Sp., tenedor) | Tobacco | tabako (Sp.) |
| Gimlet | ko-ló-kol o-ó-tik | Whisky | uiski (English) |
| Hoe | kap-yun | Wine | á-dak |
| Hammer | pá-pa | Claret | kin-to (Sp., tinto) |
| Brass kettle | kambang | Finger ring | sing-sing |
| Iron kettle | kalchero (Sp., caldero) | Mirror | sam-ding |
| Tin plate | pín-kan na ka-ná-ka | Fan | pai-pai |
| Plow | a-rá-cho (Sp., arado) | House | ba-lei |
| Scissors | ka-di | Roof | bu-bung-an |
| Table | da-mi-sa-an (Sp., mesa) | Window | ta-ua |
| Watch | di-rus (Sp., reloj) | Door | du-so-kan; or, usokan |
| Pistol | pal-tog o-ó-tik | Schoolhouse | es-kue-da-an (Sp., escuela) |
| Revolver | Do-bel-bel (Sp., revolver) | Church | sim-bá-an |
| Gun | pal-tog | Gate | di-teb; or, pás-bul (entrance) |
| Rifle | chi-fle (Sp., rifle) | Barn | á-lang |
| Ramrod | set-set | Pencil | da-pis (Sp., lápiz) |
| Cannon | ka-niún (Sp., cañon) | Pen | pluma (Sp.) |
| Bullet | bu-xel | Ink | tinta (Sp.) |
| Cap, percussion | kapsula (Sp.) | Paper | Pá-fel (Sp., papel) |
| Powder | bud-bú-ra (Sp., polvora) | Book | dib-cho (Sp., libro) |
| Saber | kam-pi-lan | Newspaper | di-ral-dyo (Sp., diario) |
| Brass | gui-sing | Road | chá-lan |
| Copper | kam-bang | Wagon | careton (Sp., carretón) |
| Gold | ba-li-tok | Bridge | taí-tai |
| Iron | dán-chok | Well | bú-bon |
| Lead | dú-bai | Railroad | ferro-carril (Sp.) |
| Silver | pí-lak | Railroad car | te-ren (Sp., tren) |
| Money | pí-lak; or, ka-meng | Railroad engine | maxina nen ferro-carril (Sp.) |
| Cap or hat | ok-dop | Steamboat | pa-vol (Sp., vapor) |
| European hat | sam-bi-la-cho | Telegraph | telegrama (Sp.) |
| Ilokano hat | ka-du-bong | Telegraph wire | bu-cheng |
| Coat { Black | { sa-ko-ta (Sp., chaqueta) | Interpreter | mang-i-goat |
| Light | | Blacksmith | dyu-fu-an |
| Shirt | bá-ro | Trader | man-via-xe (Sp., viaje, voyage) |

¹To make fire by rubbing a stick against another, *mangulidi*.

New words—Continued

| English | Nabaloi | English | Nabaloi |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian, professor of religion | ki-ris-tya-no (Sp., cristiano) | Claim, complaint | chik-dam-mo (Sp., reclamo) |
| Catholic priest | pa-re (Sp., padre) | Soldier | sun-cha-ro (Sp., soldado) |
| Law | din-teg ¹ | Cabbage | chi-fol-dyo (Sp., repollo) |
| Lawyer | a-bo-gá-ro (Sp., abogado) | | |
| Lawmaker | ma-ngi-din-teg | | |

¹ *Dinteg*, the same as the Spanish “derecho,” means both “law” and “straight.”

Personal names¹

MALE

| | | | |
|----------|------------|-------------|----------|
| Abadus | Busong | Kirai | Pataras |
| Agoyos | Chalus | Kiwung | Pauid |
| Akop | Chigot | Kolkol | Payad |
| Alam-am | Chimud | Kudiasan | Pick |
| Aleu-eu | Chuntugan | Kuigno | Piil |
| Alineu | Chupdi | Kulili | Pikipik |
| Alus | Chutkil | Kultet | Pinau-an |
| Anaban | Dalos | Kumangan | Pinisui |
| Angsil | Damsis | Lang-eu | Piraso |
| Apulog | Danguis | Laoyang | Poól |
| Askai | Dugis | Lomiris | Pukai |
| Ayaman | Gilit | Lubnas | Pukdis |
| Badanis | Guaxat | Lumaktao | Pukingan |
| Bagdaien | Impiso | Maieng-meng | Salmeng |
| Bago | Ixang | Malintas | Saxai |
| Baias | Kalpo | Mangus | Silo |
| Baka | Kamanteles | Maranas | Sim-sim |
| Bantasan | Kambunil | Milo | Sioko |
| Bantayan | Kambutil | Mising | Sunchuan |
| Banug | Kamising | Motal | Tagak |
| Barot | Kam-ol | Mura | Takai |
| Baxes | Kamsol | Omaldio | Tekel |
| Bayangan | Karui | Pad-nus | Tekuan |
| Bias | Kial | Paknga | Toktokan |
| Binunga | Kiang | Palanyus | Uai-uaya |
| Buanse | Kichil | Palispis | Uakdin |
| Bukai | Kigangan | Palkungan | Ualis |
| Buktong | Kilguan | Palungias | |
| Buslan | Kil-os | Parisas | |

¹ Ibalois, like the old Ilocanos, have the custom of changing their names at certain events in their life, as the death of a parent or a sickness, for others which they consider to augur better for the future. Their aversion to pronouncing their names when they are asked for them has already been mentioned.

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES OR WORDS

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Agusting | Domingis (Dominguez) | Kiñelmo (Guillermo) | Ofisina (oficina) |
| Akiral (Aguilar) | Durenso (Lorenzo) | Kolas (Nicolas) | Orasion (oración) |
| Alumno | Elias | Kuan (Juan) | Pafel (papel) |
| Alvares (Alvarez) | Espiritu | Kuanso (Juancho) | Pistola |
| Amistad | Fiansa (Fianza) | Maldiano (Mariano) | Sarate (Zarate) |
| Antondyo (Antonio) | Kadus (Carlos) | Mateo | Valches (Valdez) |
| Damaso | Kalpio (Policarpio?) | Montes | |

Personal names—Continued

FEMALE

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------|----------|
| Agamei | Dumdya | Katadun | Mulé |
| Bayosa | Dumina | Kichang | Polincha |
| Bidai | Indakas | Kindya | Saria |
| Biinek | Kabingkut | Kintana | Sinaged |
| Buna-ay | Kalumis | Kotnon | Sulikam |
| Chadin | Kaobi | Kufit | Taabok |
| Chudimai | Karamei | Midaing | Tadaka |
| Dabudya | Kasima | | |

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES

| | | |
|-------------------|--------|---------------|
| Elen (Elena) | Maria | Sepa (Josefa) |
| Kasinta (Jacinta) | Sabina | Tia |

THE IBALOI IGOROT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

ACCOUNT OF A SPANISH EXPEDITION TO BENGUET IN THE YEAR 1829¹

[Translated from Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (by S. Mas), Madrid, 1842: Diary of Don G. Galvey, in command of the forces for the suppression of contraband trade.]

This was the first expedition on which I penetrated into the interior. On my preceding ones I had not gone beyond the first mountain chain, as the large fields of tobacco planted clandestinely, which I had to destroy, detained me many days, and when my provisions were exhausted I had to return to the towns.

I had heard some Igorot say that beyond the great mountain called "Tonglo," which overlooks Santo Tomás and Agoó and is one of the noteworthy mountains of Luzon, there was a very large town situated in a broad and fertile valley the inhabitants of which were very rich and brave people and made war upon the pagans of the foothills. But no one of the Igorot who were my friends had the courage to guide me or even knew the road. They knew, it is true, the direction and the point where the town lay, but were not acquainted with the precise trail to be taken in the midst of so many ups and downs and intricate windings. At last I induced my first Igorot friend, Pingue, to guide me, promising myself to find the road, if I were to lose it, with the help of my compass. I assembled in Agoó two officers, three sergeants, six corporals, and fifty troops, with 200 polistas² to carry provisions and baggage, and in the afternoon of January 4 set out toward the east. Following the bed of the river of Agoó till 6 o'clock I reached a barrio of this town called "Tubao." Here I passed the night.

Fifth day.—I started at 5 o'clock in the morning to march toward the southeast, and entered the bed of the River Aringay. This we followed for one hour, until we reached the foot of the mountain, when we

¹The character of this expedition, which was only one of many similar ones undertaken by the intrepid Galvey, will be best understood by the following remark made by Mas in his Informe, chapter "Población," page 11: "These idolaters [the Igorot] cultivate in some regions immense fields of tobacco, which they introduce into the provinces. The consequence is the ruin of the tobacco revenue, the necessity of maintaining guards and troops to check this lawlessness, the extortions which these very officials commit in the towns, and, in short, so many expenses and troubles that it has been necessary more than once to send out special commissioners, and that this has come to be a question of arduous solution. In other regions they molest the peaceful Christian towns and render the roads so dangerous that it is not possible to pass over some of them without an escort."

² Forced carriers.—[TRANSLATOR.]

began to climb. This first ascent is very tiresome, and as the first mountains are thickly grown over, being covered with dense undergrowth, we marched with great difficulty. At 9 we arrived at a small village called "Pilauang," situated on a prominence from which the coast is visible. I was received by the headman, called Milo, but I found nobody else in the village, as all the inhabitants had fled, taking with them all their possessions. I treated Milo to the best, and he has since been very useful and loyal to me. At this place I had the rations served out. At 12 we pursued our march toward the north-northeast, wending our way up hill through a "cogonal,"¹ where, with the sun right overhead and reflected by the cogon grass, we suffered an indescribable heat. At 3 we entered a wood which we followed till 5, when we halted at a small village of eight houses called "Luceng." Its inhabitants had escaped, but I was received by an Igorot who brought me a basketful of camotes and other tubers as a present. This was the headman, named Pipiuan. We passed the night here.

Sixth day.—We started at dawn after many difficulties. I obliged Pipiuan to go in front, promising to set him free in the first village to which he should lead me. We marched toward the northeast. At 6 o'clock we saw upon a height a village which Pipiuan told me was Munglan; we went on and reached it at 8. We found it deserted. We continued our march across fields of sweet potatoes, and going down hill passed a well in which we found a bow and arrow, the ground being sprinkled with blood. My guides told me that this was a very bad sign, since it signified that the Igorot wanted to fight us. I reassured them, and, walking on for an hour and a half, we arrived at a small plain called "Tabao," where I halted to give time to eat. My intention was to continue the march in the afternoon, but Pingui advised me to pass the night here because on the road ahead of us we would meet with many difficulties, in the midst of which it would not be well to be surprised by the night. I therefore resolved to remain, and posted sentinels around the camp to guard against a surprise.

Seventh day.—I started at daylight. After crossing a small valley we began descending through very dense cogon. We advanced very slowly, as we found the trail blocked up with trees laid across it, and a number of other obstructions. At 9 o'clock we heard wild shouts and perceived a crowd of armed Igorot on the opposite range. At the same time it became impossible to advance. The path was beset with small, very sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo, and some of *palma brava*² driven into the ground, and with deep pitfalls covered with grass and furnished with bamboo spears in the center. There was also another kind of trap, called "balitil" by the pagans, which is made by placing two drawn bows with arrows ready to let fly, concealed in the high cogon grass, one

¹ A tract of tall, sharp grass, often as high as a man on horseback.—[TRANSLATOR.]

² *Coripha minor*.—[TRANSLATOR.]

at each side of the trail. From these bows a small and well-concealed string leads to the path, and when this string is trodden on the two arrows fly off with such force as to pass easily through a carabao.¹ Of these arrows, some are aimed so as to hit the body, others the legs. It was necessary to order ten men to the front who, little by little and with great difficulty and risk, removed the traps one by one, but not before these had wounded and disabled in less than an hour a sergeant and fourteen men, who afterwards had to be carried. Finally at 1 in the afternoon we reached the bottom of a ravine, where we found a river called the "Cagaling," which is the same stream that flows past Aringay and has its source on Mount Tonglo. We took our rations in all haste, as the Igorot were in a commanding position and our situation was critical. For this reason I wished to gain the height in order to pass the night in greater safety. At 3 in the afternoon I commenced the ascent toward the southeast. Halfway up the slope, which was very steep, rocky, and slippery, the Igorot attacked us with a shower of stones, but a volley from our side put the enemy to flight, with the loss of one man killed, whom they carried off. At half past 5 we arrived at a small level place on the flank of a mountain. We built our camp here and passed a miserable night, during which it did not cease to rain. This spot is very picturesque. At a short distance in front we had Mount Tonglo, round which we had walked and upon which we discerned a village; a big waterfall rushed down into the Cagaling River at our feet; toward the east were graceful hills covered with green, and toward the south immense pine forests with here and there a hut.

Eighth day.—We left the camp at 6 in the morning, marching southeastward. After crossing a small brook we climbed the hill called "Tamon." On top we saw a group of Igorot without arms who were shouting that they wished to speak to me. I ordered my men to tell them, in reply, to approach without fear; but they were unwilling to come near until I sent them two men as hostages. Thereupon four Igorot came forward and presented themselves to me tremblingly; they were from Benguet. They asked me whither we were going; I answered them that we were going to their town. "And what do you want to do in Benguet?" they asked. "See your country and make friends with the Igorot." They told me thereupon that they were sent by their headman, Dansalit. I presented each one with a handkerchief and told them to go back to Benguet and assure Dansalit and their other countrymen that they had nothing to fear, as I intended no harm to them. They went back to the others and all disappeared through the cogon, taking their way eastward through a ravine. In a moment they were out of sight and I took up the march again. At 8 I came upon the first pine trees; the road

¹ Water buffalo.—[TRANSLATOR.]

became quite open—no cogon, no underbrush. This fact reassured me considerably, as I feared a surprise. I halted at 11 at a brook and had the rations distributed. At 1.30 I continued the march, turning toward the east. The country here is magnificent and, though it is hilly, one may go on horseback without difficulty. On all sides we found small valleys, some of them well under cultivation and all susceptible of producing whatever might be wished.

We saw large herds of carabaos, cows, and horses. The soil was red and sticky in some places. At 4 in the afternoon we discovered from the heights the beautiful valley of Benguet, the lovely sight of which surprised us all, so that even the soldiers gave vent to their admiration by joyful shouts. On coming nearer we saw a great many people running in all directions and shouting wildly. I commanded my men to load the guns, and hoisted a white blanket on a pole as a sign of peace. But it was all of no effect. I went down hill and on arriving at the bottom of the valley we found ourselves before a river of considerable size and of crystalline water. This we forded and shortly afterwards came upon the beautiful fields of Benguet. We had scarcely advanced a few paces when two Igorot planted themselves before us, spear in hand and shouting furiously. I ordered six men to run up to them and capture them—if possible, without doing them any harm. These men were attacked by the Igorot, who hurled their spears at them, one of which knocked off the sun helmet of a soldier, but by dint of blows with the butt ends of the guns the Igorot were at last disarmed and bound. They were drunk, and nothing was to be got out of them but menaces and insults. I directed my steps toward a group of houses at one side of the valley and there halted. Soon afterwards four Igorot were brought before me, one of them the son of Dansalit. They had been caught armed, hidden in a well. To the son of Dansalit I expressed my surprise at the reception they were giving us. I told him to go back and tell the headmen to come to see me on the following day and to assure them that no harm would be done them, but that if they attacked me I would burn down their village.

I put out my sentries and an advance post was on the alert all night. Benguet is a valley of a league and a half or more in circumference; it is surrounded with springs, and forms a basin. The soil was very well cultivated, with immense fields of sweet potatoes, gabe,¹ and sugar cane, but I saw no paddy in this tract of land. All was well irrigated and fenced in by dividing lines of earth after the manner of Spain, and provided with wells. The houses, which numbered some 500, were of broad pine boards but very dirty. It is in this valley that I have proposed to establish the capital of the district.²

The night was very quiet, but the bottom of the valley was covered with fog. It was very cold, and at 11 o'clock the thermometer stood at

¹Caladium, a kind of esculent root.

²The word in the original is "Corregimiento"—that is, the district of a Corregidor.

7° above zero (Réaumur). We saw many fires on the heights, and at daybreak all the surrounding hills were covered with armed Igorot. I perceived at once that their intentions were not the best. I had two rations served out. At 8 the valley was full of pagans, who little by little approached our camp with shouts. I detached an officer with twelve men with orders to keep them back. Shortly afterwards he opened fire, but without thereby putting the Igorot to flight; and seeing the officer entirely surrounded by them, I started with twenty men to his rescue, leaving the rest of my troops drawn up in charge of the other officer. I also commenced firing together with the first officer, and we killed a number of people and captured twelve Igorot. We also had six wounded on our side. The Igorot retired little by little and were pursued by me as far as the hills after the firing had lasted four hours. It was already 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I returned to the camp, which I reached at 3.15, carrying with me my wounded, and the prisoners, who were all drunk. The pagans, on seeing me retire, came down the valley again and took up a position at a distance of a gunshot and a half. During the night half of us slept at a time while the rest watched, and we were alarmed only a few times by the shouts of the savages.

Ninth day.—At daybreak I found myself again surrounded by the pagans, who were more furious than the night before. I resolved to give them a lesson. I started with all my troops and carriers, firing and making for the largest group of houses. On the way we caught fifteen prisoners, of whom we left one who had his leg pierced by a ball. Arriving at the houses, I set fire to them, burning down some hundred and eighty, and returned to the camp followed by the Igorot and firing upon them while retiring. After eating I prepared to take up my return march to the towns. My two guides, Pingui and Pipiuau, had escaped during the heat of the fight, but as I had twenty-eight Igorot prisoners I had them put in front with orders to guide us till we should arrive at Aringay, warning them if they did not do this I would shoot them, but that if they proved good guides I would set them free. We started at 2 in the afternoon, going southwest and climbing one of the hills. The Igorot on seeing us leave followed our rear guard, but I kept them back by firing a few shots at them from time to time. At 5 I camped on a level place on a ridge called "Vaiara," where I passed the night quietly.

Tenth day.—I gave my troops a rest; during the whole day I saw Igorot only far off. We were surrounded by pine trees.

Eleventh day.—We broke camp at dawn, descending a very steep and stony slope with deep precipices on both sides. At 11 we halted and in order to make a camp had to cut the cogon and rattan with which we were surrounded. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we started again

and descended continually until 5, when we halted at a brook to pass the night.

Twelfth day.—After following the brook from 4 to 6, we passed through a village of twelve houses called * * *.¹ The Igorot fled with much shouting; at 11 we halted in a wood. We marched at 2 in the afternoon toward the southwest and halted at 5.

Thirteenth day.—After some ups and downs, and after having cut down some tobacco, we reached, at half past 10, the village of Talex, where I had been already. The inhabitants received me. In the afternoon I went on descending toward the west, and at 4 camped on flat ground by a small stream.

Fourteenth day.—At daybreak I started, following the stream with much difficulty, and made a halt at 11 in Rongos, on the banks of the Aringay River. I started again at 2, following the river, and after having forded it four times I arrived at 5 at the town of Aringay.

This expedition, though short, served me well for those I made later, as the Igorot of Benguet shortly afterwards asked me for peace and have since been my friends. On different expeditions I have passed eight or ten times through their valley, and, far from attacking me, they have treated me with kindness, providing me with rice, cows, and other food. Still, as a consequence of this expedition and of smallpox, this town has been reduced to about a hundred houses. I am, however, doing everything possible to make it flourish again, and my highroad reaches there.²

¹ A blank in the original.—[TRANSLATOR.]

² To-day there are only nine houses in that valley.—[AUTHOR'S NOTE.]

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

25586—7

179

PREFACE

The following report on the Bataks of Palawan has been recently received from Lieut. E. Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. The additional information which follows his report is from two papers issued by the Division of Military Information, Philippines Division—the one, pamphlet No. 16, articles on the tribes of Palawan, translated by Capt. E. A. Helmick, Tenth Infantry, the other, an article in manuscript, by Manuel Hugo Venturello, also translated by Captain Helmick.

There is very little authentic information about these people of Palawan. So far as is known, the photographs taken of them by Lieutenant Miller, reproductions of which appear herewith, are the first which have ever been made of them. It will be noticed that Lieutenant Miller and the writers of the two other articles are in close agreement on such details as are given, one supplementing another.

There is at least one group of people in this part of the world who bear almost the same name as these Bataks of Palawan. They are the Battas or Battak¹ who live in the northern half of Sumatra, between $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $21\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude. Their neighbors on the north are the well-known Achinese, with whom the Dutch have been so long at war. The resemblance between the names Batak and Batta, or Battak, is probably merely accidental and does not indicate any early connection or relation between the two peoples. Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra*, page 294, says of them:

The Battas are in their persons rather below the stature of the Malays, and their complexions are fairer; which may perhaps be owing to their distance from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

Their complexion removes them a long distance from the Bataks of Palawan, as does also the fact that they have attained a considerable degree of culture. They have a language and written characters of their own, and a large proportion of the people can read and write. They were, it is true, some years ago known to practice cannibalism, but cannibalism does not necessarily indicate a low stage of culture, especially when it is practiced for ceremonial reasons. These references are made to the Battas of Sumatra to bring out the fact that, although

¹ Battak is the plural of Batta. See Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 245, footnote.

the name is similar to that of the Bataks of Palawan, there is no reason for thinking there is any connection between the two peoples.

The courtesy of the officials of the Division of Military Information in permitting the use of their printed and manuscript information about the Bataks is gratefully acknowledged.—[Ed.]

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN¹

The peculiar primitive people known as Bataks are to be found in the mountains in the interior of Palawan, about 40 miles north of Puerto Princesa, back of the coast villages of Babuyan, Tinitian, and Malcampo. They number about 600 men, women, and children. Among themselves they are peaceable and hospitable. Usually several families live in a single large nipa hut, divided only by lines or sticks on the floor to mark the limits for each separate family. Each small settlement is governed by an old man who settles minor disputes or takes them to the chief of the tribe.

People from other non-Christian tribes and the Christian Filipinos do not molest the Bataks or encroach on their territory because of the difficulties encountered in reaching the places where they live and also from fear of the blowgun, the favorite weapon of the Bataks.

They are a very shy people and do not mingle or intermarry with the other native tribes, so they have retained their peculiar customs. If a white person is seen approaching, the women and children will run to the jungle and hide. It is almost impossible to see even the men unless arrangements are made in advance with the chief to gather the people together and to assure them that they need have no fear. Gifts of food and tobacco and kindly treatment soon win their confidence. They are then no longer shy and their peculiar customs may be studied.

They resemble somewhat the Negritos of the Philippines, but seem more like descriptions given by travelers of the wild inhabitants of the interior of the Malay Peninsula.² They have long, kinky hair and thick lips, and some have hairy faces and bodies. The hair stands out over the head like a bush. They are small in stature, but well formed. The men are slender, but the women are usually fat. Fatness seems to be a mark of beauty among the young women.

They live close to nature. They do not cultivate the soil except to set out a few plants which yield edible roots, and in a few places plant small fields of rice. In addition to rice and roots their food consists of wild hogs, monkeys, snakes, lizards, and honey. Wild animals are killed by means of the blowgun, from which they shoot a small poisoned

¹ By Act No. 1363 of the Philippine Commission, enacted June 28, 1905, the name of the Province and Island of Paragua was changed to that of Palawan. In Volume I and in the first part of Volume II of the publications of The Ethnological Survey the name Paragua was used.

² The author is doubtless thinking of the Semangs, the name by which the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula are known, or the Sakais, a people of mixed Negrito and Malayan blood.—[Ed.]

dart. The wound from the dart is not severe, but the poison kills the animal in a short time. When the game is captured the hunter cuts out the meat from around the wound and throws it away. The rest is placed in a bed of coals and roasted. They have no cooking utensils.

Besides the little cultivating which they do, their only industries are hunting to secure food and gathering almaciga and copal tree gums which they carry to the coast and trade for rice, beads, and bolos.¹

Their only article of dress is made from the bark of the "bago" tree. This bark is soaked in a stream until it is soft and is then pounded between stones until it becomes thin and pliable. The cloth, when dry, is usually ornamented with colored lines or designs made by vegetable dyes prepared by the natives. The men wear only the breechcloth made of this bark cloth, and the women a short skirt of the same material.²

For personal adornment the women use dried grasses, shells, and beads, with which they decorate their hair. They wear also long strips of colored bejuco around their bodies, decorated bands of bamboo and shell on the arms and the ankles, and shave the eyebrows. Both men and women shave the part of the head in front of a line from ear to ear over the top of the head and anoint their bodies with hog's grease.

They are easily amused and seem to be happy and contented. Their only diversion is the dancing of the men; the women do not dance. Each dancer performs alone while a companion keeps time on a native tom-tom.

The marriage ceremony is interesting. The contracting parties, with an old man and woman, squat down on either side of a dish of cooked rice. The old people each take a ball of rice and exchange, then they hand the balls to the bride and groom, who exchange them again, after which they eat the rice and the ceremony is ended. Polygyny and polyandry are permitted, but seem not to be practiced at present.

The Bataks have an extensive knowledge of the use of medicinal herbs and roots, as is proved by the fact that the Christian Filipinos who live along the coast of Palawan go to them for medicines. When a death occurs among them the body is buried and a fire is built around the grave. The house in which the death occurs is abandoned.

Their religion seems to be a worship of the bird or animal that happens to abound in their immediate vicinity. Their language is similar to that spoken by Tagbanua and Palawan tribes of Palawan.

¹ Venturello says these forest products are collected by the Bataks "only when they are employed by Christian merchants."

² The skirt reaches from the waist to the knees. Venturello thinks it is "hardly decent, owing to the minuteness of its dimensions."

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE BATAK PEOPLE

The following information, derived from articles written by Eugenio Morales, of Puerto Princesa, and Manuel Hugo Venturello, of the same municipality, is presented to supplement Lieutenant Miller's report:

The Negritos within the municipality of Puerto Princesa are distributed in the following settlements: Guinaratan River district, belonging to the jurisdiction of Malcampo, where the Bataks are without a chief or known representative, some submitting to the authority of the village, others being independent and living in the mountains of the interior; Caruray River district, in the jurisdiction of Tinitian inhabited by people of the same race living under the same conditions and with the same customs; Langugan River district, one of the most important in the municipality because of its large yield of almaciga (resin), bejuco (rattan), and other valuable natural products, occupied by Bataks who recognize the *cabeza*¹ of Tinitian as their chief; Tarabanan River district, settled by Bataks who recognize as chief one of their own number, a certain Lanawam; Babuyan River district, also important on account of its valuable products. There are two settlements on this river—one, called "Bayatas," located near the source of the river, a certain Barnal being chief; and the other, called "Maoyan," near the middle of its course, with a certain Siagauan as chief, who recognizes the authority of the village of Babuyan.

On the opposite coast are other settlements of Bataks in small numbers. At Caruray, on the Bay of Tibbon, is a tribe of Bataks with no known chief, but they recognize the authority of the *cabeza* of Caruray. Between Malcampo and Barbacan is located the settlement of Buhayan, which reaches from coast to coast. This tribe is called "Buhayanan." They are said to be the bravest and most independent of all the Bataks and to have preserved more of their savage customs than other Batak tribes.

A little to the north of Caruray and near the Bay of Tagdunan is found a tribe called "Tandolanen," who number about twenty, including men, women, and children. The people of this tribe live independently of the others, avoid all contact with them, do not form settlements or permanent dwellings, and occupy points and small islands, from which fact they get the name of Tandolanen, which signifies inhabitants of points. Their dialect is a mixture of Tagbanua and Batak.

These tribes with distinct names are well known, but there are wandering tribes that seem to have taken the name of an animal or bird or object where the chief or headman happened to be born; for instance, if the mother gave birth to a son under or near an ipil tree, he might receive the name "Ipil."

¹ "Cabeza" is a Spanish word meaning "head" and was commonly used to designate the headman of a settlement.

Venturello says that in spite of investigations extending over twenty years, and notwithstanding his intimate relations with the native tribes, he has been unable to determine definitely the origin of the Bataks. This perhaps is not strange, but there appears no reason to doubt that they belong to the same race as the other Negritos of the Islands and are all that are left of a formerly more numerous group of Negritos in Palawan. According to information obtained from the old men of the tribes, the people of the west coast, especially of the settlement of Caruray, are the ones from whom the tribes of both coasts sprung.

Accounts given of the physical characteristics of the Bataks differ slightly. This is to be expected, as the people doubtless differ slightly in appearance from group to group, and the description given by an observer is based on some one small group and is not a generalization made from descriptions of several groups. These differences, however, are unimportant.

Thus:¹

As to color they do not present the true characteristics of the Negritos, but in their curly hair, thick lips, etc., they resemble that race very much. In stature they do not differ from the Tagbanuas and other Filipinos, some being tall and some short.

Venturello says of them:

These tribes all have the characteristics of the African negro. The kinky hair is noticeable, but the color is a little lighter and the lips are not so thick. They are generally of small stature, but there are not wanting those who very much resemble the African negro.

Rice is planted in such small quantities as to yield hardly enough to supply them for more than a few months or even days after the harvest. One writer says that they set out all kinds of plants which yield edible roots, but that these amount to little on account of the custom of planting in one locality one year and moving to another the following season.

The time of the year which they most enjoy is the season when bees are most plentiful. During this time young bees and honey form their principal diet, and as long as these last they do not think of doing any work. They are said to eat more than double the amount of food which a man usually eats at one time, but this is on account of the long intervals between times of eating.

Statements about the disposition of the Batak people at first appear conflicting. If they are peaceable and friendly, as a number of people who know them say they are, why are they feared by other tribes and why have they such a reputation for using bows and arrows against their enemies? The probable explanation is simple. It is quite possible that among themselves they are peaceable but that they have been

¹ Morales, Division of Military Information, No. 16, p. 26.



Photo by Miller.
PLATE LXXXVI. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF WOMEN.
(Man on right has blowgun and bamboo quiver of poisoned arrows.)

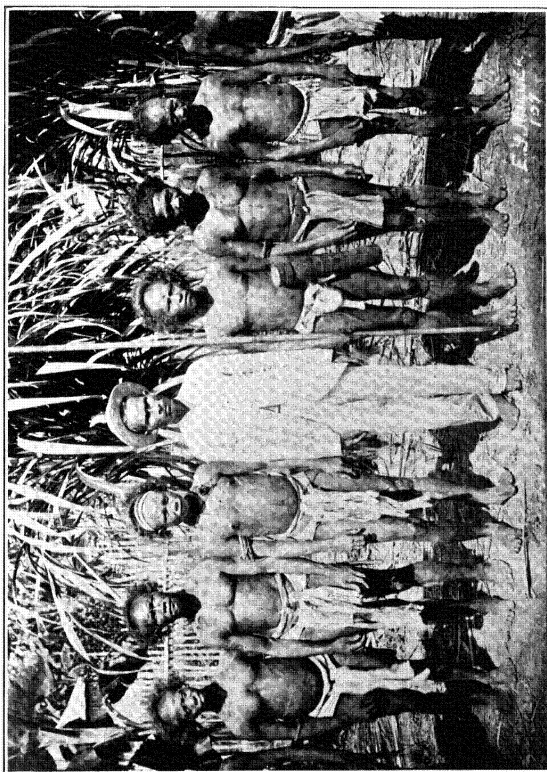


Photo by Miller. PLATE LXXXVII. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF MEN.
(One man has blowgun and quiver of poisoned arrows.)

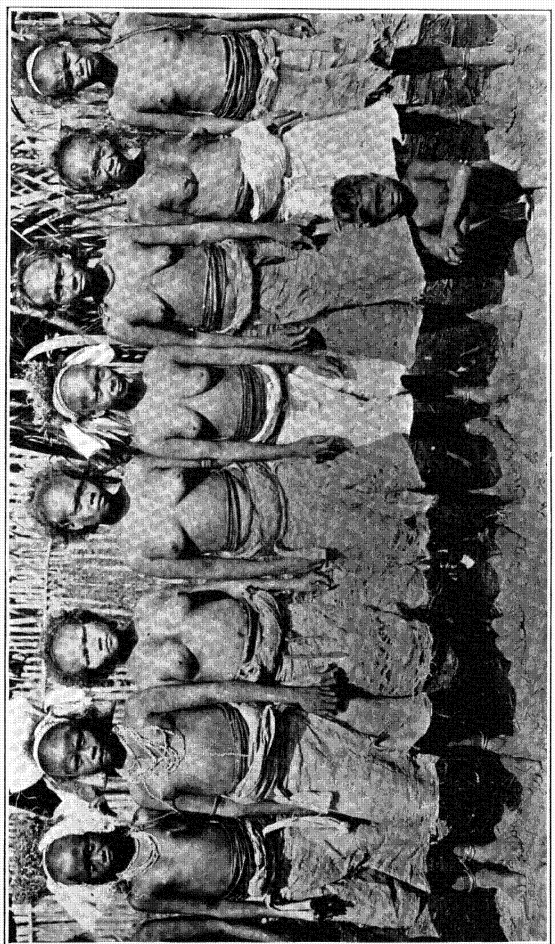


Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVIII. GROUP OF BATAK WOMEN, SHOWING FLAYED-BARK SKIRTS AND SHAVED HEADS.

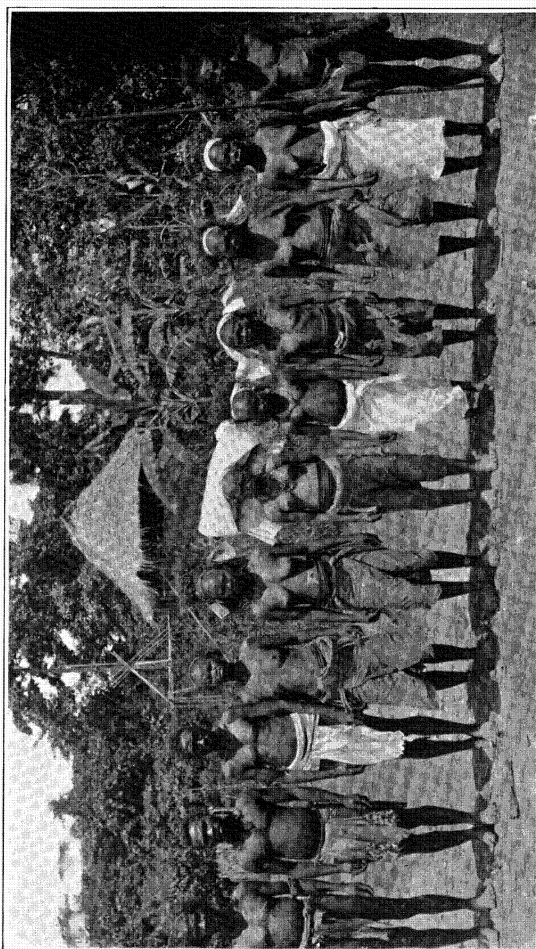


Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXIX. GROUP OF TYPICAL BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING CLOTHING, SHAVED HEADS, AND BLOWGUN.

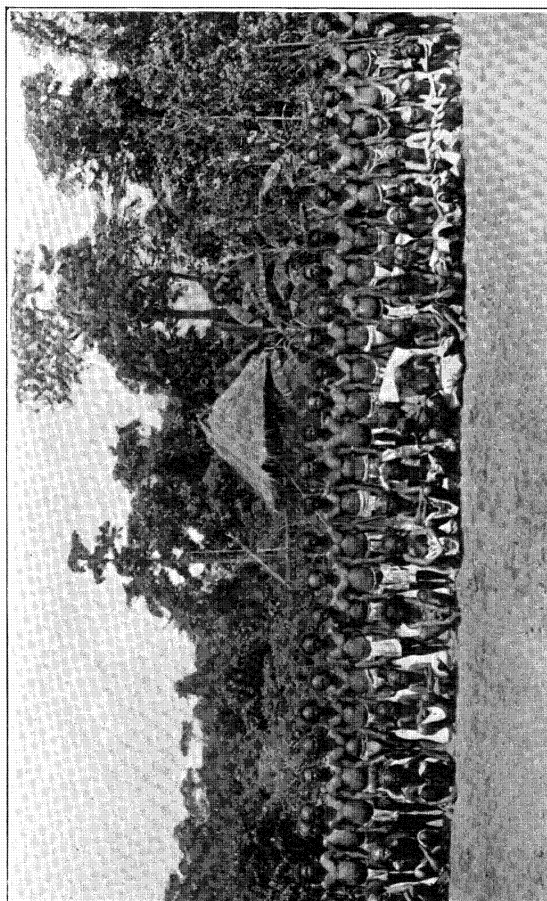


Photo by Miller.

PLATE XC. LARGE GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE.



Photo by Miller.

PLATE XCI. BATAK RICE CEREMONY.

so harassed by people of other tribes that they have come to look upon a stranger as an enemy and to treat him as such. It is more than likely, however, that when a stranger has gained their confidence they are perfectly friendly. Doubtless in times past these little blacks have been many times attacked by the Malayan tribes and forced to abandon their homes and to seek others in less accessible places. Negritos in other parts of the Philippines are timid and anxious to avoid strangers. It has been noticed in Surigao that the Mamanuas who make every effort to escape from strangers will on the occasion of a second meeting, even if it is accidental, give a friendly, confiding smile and show no desire to run away.

The Bataks of Tarabanan and Langugan are said to have killed prisoners who escaped from the Spanish authorities and fled into the interior of the island. It is easy to believe, however, that these escaped prisoners treated the Bataks in such a way as to force them to retaliate.

All offenses and crimes less than murder and adultery are punishable by whipping. In the case of murder the brother, father, or other relative has the right to take vengeance in the same hour that the crime was committed, and if he does not do this is entitled to a fine of 100 *chenantin*, which has the value with them of about 20 pesos, Mexican currency. But the adjusters of the fine have the power of making the equivalent of the *chenantin* 1 peso. As marriage among the Bataks is indissoluble, adultery is punished only by whipping; but if the husband gives his consent, the woman may go with the other man, the latter paying a fine of not less than 100 *bandi*; if the husband withholds his consent, the adulterer, even though he does not possess himself of the woman, must pay a fine of 100 *bandi*. If the husband is willing, both men may have the same woman and live in the same house, but in this case the second husband is no more than a servant for the first. The first has all the authority and does no work. The same rule applies when a man has two wives.

If a boy wishes to marry a girl he has the right to ask for her, paying later a *bandi* (price or fine), as do the Tagbanuas of Apurahuan. Their marriages are accompanied by no religious ceremony as those of the Tagbanuas are. The rice ceremony has been described already. If the parties are rich or powerful a feast follows the ceremony.

At the birth of a child a name is given to it which is suggested by the place of birth, though there is no ceremony of any kind. The child often bears a Christian name.

All diseases which are of a contagious nature become pestilences among the Bataks, because they are extremely filthy and diseases are easily communicated. Even catarrh is a scourge among them. They are said to quarantine or drive out of the tribe those who suffer from it, and in time past even buried them alive. The most common diseases are pustules and herpes and other local troubles.

They have no means of writing as the Tagbanuas have. When one person wishes to communicate with another he makes use of an object that suggests the idea he desires to impart. The young of both sexes make use of this means of communication when they desire to express their love, and as it has been practiced from a very early age they can understand with great ease.

Venturello gives one of their religious myths which it may be well to present in full: These tribes, like the Tagbanuas, believe in the god called "Maguimba," who in remote times came among them at the calling of a Babailan to supply their necessities and to cure the sick and raise the dead. Having been deceived and angered at one time by the Tandolanen, all of the races from the east to the west of the island were cursed and deprived of their god. The following is an account of this crime against their god: One day the Tandolanen, wishing to test the power of their god, caught a large shark and wrapped its dead body in a nipa mat, and with false tears and bewailings called upon the god "Maguimba" through the Babailan.¹ It was the habit of the god to appear in certain cases in the form of a man, and so in this case he presented himself to the assembled people and asked where the deceased was, to which those present replied pointing to the nipa bundle in the center of the room. The god arose and blessed it and opened the bundle, when the shark was found to be alive and active as if it were in the sea. Upon seeing this deception the god was greatly angered and thundered forth a sentence, declaring that from that day he would cease to succor them when they appealed to him, and cursed them, declaring that all the tribes of their race would remain subject to all kinds of suffering and death, and that he would never again raise them from the dead. When he had said this a lizard mysteriously presented itself and spoke these words like a man: "Celi celi manli," which, being interpreted, signifies, "Your sons will succeed you, then you will die." And so it happened; to this day the people are greatly afraid to hurt or kill the chameleon, that sometimes turns green and puffs out his throat upon the approach of man. Should one of these little harmless animals fall on the right arm of a man it is considered a sign that the entire family of this man will soon die; but should it fall on the left arm it signifies the death of some relative only.

When this god separated himself from these people after the curse, they substituted for him the god Paraen who was married to Benguelen, whose powers extended only to the bodily ailments and who was called upon by the Babailan only when they were curing some disease. These people claim that when the god Maguimba became offended at the deception of the Tandolanen and left them he joined the god of the Christians.

¹ Babailan is a native Philippine word which is applied to an exorcist—a man or woman, usually old—whose aid is asked, especially in cases of sickness.

In a footnote to Venturello's paper Captain Helmick gives the following account of people whom he saw in Palawan. It would seem that many of the people whom he describes were not pure Negritos:

The few Bataks that I have seen confirm the author's statement as to their general appearance. Those I saw, with the exception of the chief, were below medium height, but had well-formed heads and splendidly developed bodies. One had decidedly frizzly hair, but the others had wavy hair and their lips were not so thick as the negro's. The chief was a man of medium size and well developed. I sent for them to meet me at the annual fiesta of the barrio of Tinitian, in the municipality of Puerto Princesa, Palawan. They could not be prevailed upon to bring their women, and were so timid that upon approach of my party they fled from the village and were persuaded with difficulty to return. Their dress consisted of a belt and breech pieces of bark which were certainly very much abbreviated, as the author [Venturello] states. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows and blowguns. They were so fond of the liquor prepared for them that nearly all of them became drunk.

INDEX

INDEX TO VOLUME II

| | Page | | Page |
|--|----------|--|--------------------|
| ACHINESE, a tribe of Sumatra..... | 181 | ANTIQUE PROVINCE, Negritos of..... | 20 |
| ADJECTIVES, examples of modifica- | | APURAHUAN, Tagbanuas of..... | 187 |
| tions of, in Nabaloi..... | 111 | ARINGAY RIVER | 173, 175, 177, 178 |
| —, examples of use of, with noun.... | 112 | ARM, abnormal length of, of Ne- | |
| —, how compared | 112 | gritos | 33 |
| —, how intensified in meaning..... | 112 | —, measurement of the, of Negritos.. | 34 |
| —, how given a negative sense..... | 112 | ARROWS used by Negritos in hunting | |
| ADOPTED Spanish names or words in | | and fishing | 46 |
| Nabaloi | 170, 171 | — used in war by Negritos..... | 44 |
| ADORNMENT, personal, among Negri- | | ARTICLE, the definite, in Nabaloi..... | 107 |
| tos | 36 | —, examples of use of, in Nabaloi..... | 108 |
| ADULTERY, penalty for, among Ne- | | —, special, used with proper names | |
| gritos | 62 | in Nabaloi | 107 |
| ADVERBS, list of common, in Nabaloi.. | 121 | —, the indefinite, in Nabaloi..... | 107 |
| AETA, a native name for Negritos.... | 17 | ASCENDANTS OF SELF, LINEAL, female | |
| —, vocabularies of..... | 80-83 | speaking | Footnote 162 |
| AFFINITIES through the marriage of | | —, male speaking | 162, 163 |
| self, female speaking, Nabaloi | | BABUYAN, river in Palawan..... | 185 |
| terms for | 165 | —, village in Palawan..... | 183 |
| —, through the marriage of self, | | BALITIL, trap used by Igorot..... | 174 |
| male speaking | 164 | BALUGA, name for Negritos..... | 17, 18 |
| —, through relatives, first collateral | | BAMBOO spears set in the trail by | |
| line | 164 | Igorot to wound enemies..... | 174 |
| AFRICAN negro, resemblance of Ba- | | BARBACAN, village in Palawan..... | 185 |
| taks of Palawan to..... | 186 | BARK CLOTH made by Negritos..... | 37 |
| AGENT, how emphasized in conjuga- | | — used by Bataks for breechcloth.. | 184, 189 |
| tion of Nabaloi verbs..... | 129 | BARNAL, Batak chief..... | 185 |
| AGGLUTINATION in Nabaloi..... | 106 | BASKET making among Negritos..... | 44 |
| AGOÓ, river and town in Union Prov- | | — ware, Nabaloi terms for various | |
| ince | 173 | kinds of..... | 154 |
| AGRICULTURAL implements of Negri- | | BATAAN, Negrito customs in..... | 37 |
| tos | 42 | —, Negritos of, described..... | 32 |
| AGRICULTURE among Igorot of Ben- | | —, vocabulary from | 81, 83 |
| guet | 176 | BATAKS, punishment for adultery | |
| — among Negritos..... | 42 | among | 187 |
| AGTA, name of Negritos of Albay | | —, almaciga gathered by | 184 |
| Province | 18 | —, amusements of..... | 184 |
| ALABAT, Island of, presence of Ne- | | —, animals eaten by..... | 183 |
| gritos on..... | 18 | —, bark used for breechcloth by..... | 189 |
| ALBAY, Negritos in..... | 18 | —, bark of bago tree used for breech- | |
| ALCOHOLISM unknown among Negri- | | cloth by | 184 |
| tos | 62 | —, bees eaten by | 186 |
| ALMACIGA gathered by Bataks..... | 185 | —, blowgun used by..... | 183, 189 |
| ALPHABET, Spanish, taken as a stand- | | —, bows and arrows used by..... | 186, 189 |
| ard in writing Nabaloi..... | 101 | —, breechcloth worn by | 184 |
| — used in writing Nabaloi..... | 101 | —, bravery of | 185 |
| AMUSEMENTS, Nabaloi words for..... | 168 | —, color of..... | 186 |
| — of Negritos | 49 | —, cooking of food by..... | 184 |
| —, <i>see also</i> DANCING. | | —, cultivation of ground by..... | 183 |
| ANGAT RIVER, Negritos on..... | 19 | —, customs of, sketched..... | 22 |
| ANIMALS hunted by Negritos..... | 44 | —, dancing of | 184 |
| ANITOS, Negritos' belief in..... | 65 | | |

| | Page | | Page |
|--|---------------|--|----------|
| BATAKS, diseases among..... | 187 | BLACK, Negritos' preference for..... | 37 |
| —, disposition of..... | 183, 186 | BLISTERING as a curative treatment among Negritos..... | 67 |
| —, dress of..... | 184, 189 | BLUMENTRITT quoted on Negritos in northwestern Luzon..... | 19 |
| —, dyes used by..... | 184 | BODY, Nabaloi names for parts of.. | 151, 152 |
| —, food of..... | 183, 186 | BOLINAO, speech of Negritos of..... | 79 |
| —, funeral customs of..... | 184 | BONE fractures, Negritos' treatment for..... | 66 |
| —, fondness for liquor among..... | 189 | BOTH, how expressed in Nabaloi..... | 110 |
| —, gods of..... | 188 | BOTOLAN, attempt to settle Negritos of..... | 71 |
| —, government of..... | 183, 185, 187 | —, number of Negritos in..... | 30 |
| —, grease used by, to anoint the body..... | 184 | —, physical aspect of region de- scribed..... | 30 |
| —, hair of..... | 183 | BOWS and arrows used by Negritos.. | 43 |
| —, head shaved by..... | 184 | BREASTS of Negrito women..... | 34 |
| —, honey eaten by..... | 186 | BUHAYAN, settlement of Bataks..... | 185 |
| —, houses of..... | 183 | BUHAYANAN, tribe of Bataks..... | 185 |
| —, hunting by..... | 184 | BUKIDNON, intermarriage of, with Negritos..... | 21 |
| —, inability of, to write..... | 188 | BULACAN PROVINCE, Negritos in..... | 19 |
| —, industries of..... | 184 | —, vocabulary from..... | 81, 83 |
| —, lack of cleanliness among..... | 187 | BURIAL, Negrito manner of perform- ing..... | 61 |
| —, language of..... | 184 | BUSOL, Ibaloi hostility toward..... | 99 |
| —, location of..... | 183, 185 | —, significance of term..... | 99 |
| —, marriage among, indissoluble..... | 187 | CAGALING, river of Benguet..... | 175 |
| —, marriage ceremony of..... | 184 | CAGAYAN PROVINCE, Negritos reported from..... | 20 |
| —, medicines, knowledge of, among..... | 184 | CAIÑGIN of Negritos..... | 42 |
| —, myths among..... | 188 | CAMARINES, Negritos in..... | 18 |
| —, names of..... | 185 | CANNIBALISM of Battas..... | 181 |
| —, names of children given by..... | 187 | CAPITÁN GENERAL DEL MONTE, Ne- grito appointed..... | 70, 71 |
| —, number of..... | 183 | CARABAO ISLAND, presence of Negri- tos on..... | 20 |
| —, origin of..... | 186 | CARABAOS, large herds of, in Ben- guet..... | 176 |
| —, personal adornment of..... | 184 | CARRO, Fr. ANDRES, reference to vocabulary of..... | 98 |
| —, physical characteristics of..... | 183, 186, 189 | CARURAY, river and village of Palawan..... | 185 |
| —, poisoned arrows used by..... | 183 | CEPHALIC index of Negritos..... | 34 |
| —, polyandry permitted by..... | 184, 187 | CEREMONIES AMONG NEGRITOS, head.. | 58 |
| —, polygyny permitted by..... | 184 | —, home coming, or Leput..... | 59 |
| —, punishment of crimes by..... | 187 | —, religious, after a successful hunt.. | 48 |
| —, religion of..... | 184 | —, rice..... | 57 |
| —, rice ceremony of..... | 184 | CHARM, plant used as a, by Negritos.. | 67 |
| —, rice, amount of, planted by..... | 186 | CH sound in Nabaloi dialect..... | 98 |
| —, stature of..... | 183, 186 | CHILDREN, ordinal names of, in Nabaloi..... | 165 |
| —, timidity of..... | 189 | —, treatment of, by Negrito parents.. | 56 |
| —, weapons of..... | 183, 189 | CHINESE influence on Ibaloi Igorot.... | 98 |
| BATTAS, a tribe of Sumatra, Marsden quoted on..... | 181 | CHIRINO quoted on condition of Ne- gritos of Panay in sixteenth century..... | 16 |
| —, cannibalism of..... | 181 | CIVILIZING THE NEGRITOS, reasons for failure of plans for..... | 69 |
| —, complexion of..... | 181 | —, Spanish decree in 1846 about..... | 68 |
| —, culture of..... | 181 | —, terms of decree of 1881..... | 69 |
| BAYATAS, settlement of Bataks..... | 185 | CLEARINGS or caiñgin of Negritos.... | 42 |
| BE, TO, lack of this verb in Naba- loi..... | Footnote 108 | CLOTH, BARK, made by Negritos..... | 37 |
| —, Nabaloi rendering of..... | 144 | —, used by Bataks for breechcloth.... | 184 |
| BEJUCO gathered by Bataks..... | 185 | | |
| BELATIC, trap used by Negritos..... | 45 | | |
| BENGUET, Spanish expedition to..... | 173-178 | | |
| —, valley of..... | 176 | | |
| BENGUETANOS, objection to term..... | Footnote 97 | | |
| BERRIES, necklaces of dried, worn by Negritos..... | 37 | | |
| BETEL nut rarely chewed by Negri- tos..... | 62 | | |
| BETROTHAL, attempt to disregard, by Negrito girl..... | 58 | | |
| —, early, among Negritos..... | 57 | | |
| BIRDS, Nabaloi names for..... | 160 | | |

| | Page | | Page |
|---|-------------------|--|-------------|
| CLOTHING, Nabaloi terms for articles of | 152 | DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS, Isabela Province | 19 |
| — of Negritos..... | 37 | —, Mariveles pueblo | 31 |
| COLLECTION of Negritos into towns..... | 70 | —, Negros Island | 20 |
| COLOR of Negrito skin..... | 36 | —, northeastern Luzon | 20 |
| COMBS of bamboo used by Negritos.... | 38 | —, northwestern Luzon | 19, 20 |
| COMPARISON of adjective in Nabaloi.. | 112 | —, Nueva Ecija Province..... | 20 |
| — of Nabaloi sounds with those of neighboring dialects..... | 100 | —, Palawan Island | 22 |
| COMPLEXION of Malays..... | 181 | —, Panay Island..... | 20 |
| CONJUGATION of Nabaloi verbs.... | 129-136, 138, 139 | —, Polillo Island..... | 18 |
| CONJUNCTIONS in Nabaloi..... | 125 | —, Rizal Province..... | 19 |
| CONQUISTADOS and nonconquistados among Negritos..... | 69 | —, San Marcelino pueblo | 30 |
| CONTINUATIVE tense in Nabaloi..... | 129 | —, Sorsogon Province | 17 |
| COOKE, Negrito vocabulary of, referred to..... | 79 | —, Surigao Province..... | 22 |
| COOKING, method used by Negritos.... | 40 | —, Tablas Island..... | 20 |
| COWS, large herds of, in Benguet..... | 176 | —, Zambales Province | 17 |
| CORRESPONDENCE of Nabaloi <i>ch</i> to Malay <i>dj</i> | 110 | DIVISION of labor among Negritos..... | 42 |
| CROPS planted by Negritos..... | 42 | DIVISIONS of the pygmy race..... | 13 |
| CULTURE of Battak of Sumatra..... | 181 | DIVORCE, rarity of, among Negritos.. | 61 |
| DANCES OF NEGRITOS..... | 32, 52, 53 | DRAMATIC, Negritos' sense of..... | 64 |
| —, baluk | 32 | DUMAGAT, a name for Negritos..... | 17 |
| —, bee dance | 52 | —, vocabulary from | 81, 83 |
| —, duel dance | 53 | EAR, length of, of Negritos..... | 75 |
| —, lovers' dance | 53 | EATING, Negrito manner of..... | 41 |
| —, potato dance | 52 | EMPHASIS, how secured in Nabaloi.... | 108 |
| —, torture dance..... | 52 | —, how thrown on performer or object in Nabaloi verbal forms | 127, 128 |
| DANCING, chief amusement of Negritos | 51 | ENDURANCE of Negritos..... | 47 |
| DANSALIT, headman of a Benguet village | 175, 176 | EXORCISTS or <i>maña anito</i> among Negritos | 66 |
| DATIVE particle <i>sun</i> , use of, in Nabaloi | Footnote 107 | FESTIVE slaughterings and drinking bouts, Ibaloi names for..... | 166 |
| DECLENSION of noun and article in Nabaloi | 107 | FEVER, Negritos' treatment for..... | 66 |
| DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns in Nabaloi | 117-119 | FILTHINESS of Negritos..... | 41 |
| DESCENDANTS OF SELF, LINEAL, female speaking, Nabaloi terms for | Footnote 163 | FIRE, Negritos' method of making.... | 40 |
| —, male speaking, Nabaloi terms for.. | 162 | FISHING, Negrito ways of..... | 48 |
| DIALECT of the Zambal..... | 28 | FOREMAN, JOHN, quoted on possible Chinese strain in Igorot..... | 98 |
| —, original Negrito | 29 | FOREST products sold by Negritos..... | 44 |
| DIALOGUE on Benguet trail..... | 145-147 | FORMOSA, origin of inhabitants of | Footnote 15 |
| DICE game called <i>saro</i> , played by the Negritos | 49 | GALVEY, G., diary of, abstract from | 173-178 |
| DIETARY of Negritos..... | 41 | GAMBLING among Negritos..... | 49 |
| DISEASE, Negritos' idea of cause of.... | 68 | GAMES, comparative lack of, among Negritos | 49 |
| DIPHTHONGS in Nabaloi..... | 104 | GENDER, how expressed in Nabaloi dialect | 108 |
| DISTRIBUTION of Negritos in general.. | 13 | GEOGRAPHIC names, Nabaloi | 161 |
| DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS in the Philippine Islands | 18-31 | GIRLS, how considered among Negritos | 56 |
| —, Alabat Island..... | 18 | GOITER, prevalence and cause of, among Negritos..... | 67 |
| —, Albay Province..... | 18 | GOVERNMENT among Negritos | 70 |
| —, Ambos Camarines Province..... | 18 | —, Nabaloi words relating to..... | 166, 167 |
| —, Bataan Province..... | 31 | GUIMARÁS, presence of Negritos in.... | 21 |
| —, Botolan pueblo..... | 30 | GUINARATAN, river of Palawan | 185 |
| —, Bulacan Province | 19 | HABITAT of Negritos of Zambales, Tarlac, and Pampanga..... | 30 |
| —, Cagayan Province..... | 20 | HAIR of Bataks..... | 183 |
| —, Guimarás Island | 21 | — of Negritos..... | 35 |

| | Page | | Page |
|---|-------------|--|----------|
| HAVE, TO, Nabaloi verb..... | 144 | LEGLETS worn by Negritos..... | 38 |
| HEIGHT of Negritos..... | 75 | LIZARDS eaten by Bataks..... | 183 |
| HELMICK, Capt. E. A., quoted on Bataks | 188 | LUCENG, Igorot village..... | 174 |
| —, translator of articles on tribes of Palawan | 181 | MAGUIMBA, god of Bataks..... | 188 |
| HIATUS in Nabaloi dialect..... | 105 | MALAY language, relation of, to Na- baloi | 110, 111 |
| HOGS eaten by Bataks..... | 183 | — Peninsula, inhabitants of..... | 183 |
| HONEY eaten by Bataks..... | 183 | MALAYAN origin of Negrito dialects.. | 79 |
| HORSES, large herds of, in Ben- guet | 176 | MALAYS, complexion of..... | 181 |
| HOSTILITY between Negritos and civilized people of Negros..... | 21 | —, stature of..... | 181 |
| HOUSE and field, Nabaloi terms for objects in..... | 152, 153 | MALCAMPO, village of Palawan..... | 183, 185 |
| HUNTING AMONG NEGRITOS, manner of | 47 | MAOYAN, settlement of Bataks..... | 185 |
| —, religious ceremonies after | 48 | MAMANUA, NEGRITOS OF MINDANAO, distribution of | 22 |
| HUNTING and fishing among Negritos.. | 44 | —, timidity of..... | 187 |
| HUTS, construction of Negrito..... | 39 | MAÑGA anito among Negritos..... | 66 |
| IBA, Zambal vocabulary from..... | 80, 82 | MANUFACTURE and trade among Ne- gritos | 43 |
| IBALOI, etymology of term..... | 98 | MARIVELES, Negritos in..... | 31 |
| —, native use of name..... | 97 | MARRIAGE AMONG NEGRITOS, descrip- tion of the leput or home coming | 59 |
| — seventy-five years ago..... | 173-178 | —, how arranged for..... | 56 |
| — writing and popular songs..... | 147-150 | —, the rice ceremony | 57 |
| IGOROT, etymology of term..... | 98 | MATHEMATICAL knowledge among Negritos | 64 |
| —, fight with..... | 176, 177 | MEALS, number of, among Negritos.. | 40 |
| —, original form of name..... | 97 | MEASUREMENTS of Negritos, anthro- pometric | 75 |
| IKAPTANGAN, Ibaloi use of term..... | 99 | MEDICINE, knowledge of, among Bataks | 184 |
| ILOCANO dialect, wide use in Benguet of | 101 | MENTAL capacity of Negritos..... | 63 |
| — element in Nabaloi..... | 100 | MEYER quoted on distribution of Negritos | 17 |
| — encroachment on Zambal ter- ritory | 28 | MILITARY INFORMATION, DIVISION OF, acknowledgment to | 182 |
| INIBALOI, meaning of term..... | 98 | MILLER, Lieut. E. Y., governor of Palawan | 183, 184 |
| IMPLEMENTS, Nabaloi terms for..... | 153 | MILO, headman of Pilauang..... | 174 |
| IMPERATIVE verb forms in Nabaloi.... | 139 | MINDANAO, Negritos in | 20-22 |
| INDIA, aboriginal inhabitants of | Footnote 15 | MINDORO, Negritos in..... | 20 |
| INFIX <i>in</i> , Nabaloi..... | 106, 127 | MONKEYS eaten by Bataks..... | 183 |
| INSECTS, Nabaloi names for..... | 160 | MONTANO, vocabulary collected by, referred to | 79 |
| INTELLECTUAL life of Negritos..... | 63 | MORALES, EUGENIO, author of article on Bataks..... | 185 |
| INTERJECTIONS in Nabaloi..... | 145 | —, quoted on Bataks..... | 186 |
| INTRANSITIVE verbs, conjugation of, in Nabaloi..... | 135 | MORALS, comparison between Negrito and Malayan | 61 |
| —, examples of, in Nabaloi..... | 136 | MOROS, effect of their piracies on Zambal trade | 27 |
| INTENSIFICATION of meanings of adjectives in Nabaloi..... | 112 | MORTUARY customs, Nabaloi words connected with | 167 |
| INTERROGATIVE adverbs in Nabaloi.... | 120 | MUNGLAN, village of Benguet..... | 174 |
| — pronouns in Nabaloi..... | 120 | MURDER, punishment for, among Ne- gritos | 63 |
| IPIL, name given to Batak boys..... | 185 | MUSIC, Ibaloi | 148-150 |
| ISABELA PROVINCE, distribution of Negritos in..... | 19 | —, character of Negrito..... | 50 |
| JAPANESE words in Nabaloi..... | 99 | MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, Ibaloi.. Footnote 150 | |
| KANKANAI, native use of term..... | 97 | —, Negrito | 50 |
| KILL, TO, conjugation of, in Nabaloi.. | 129 | NABALOI DIALECT. (For references to Nabaloi dialect, see under individual subjects.) | |
| KINSHIP, Nabaloi terms expressing.... | 162 | | |
| LANAWAN, Batak chief..... | 185 | | |
| LANDED property of Negritos..... | 43 | | |
| LANGUAGE of Battas of Sumatra..... | 181 | | |
| LANGUGAN, Bataks of..... | 187 | | |
| —, river of Palawan..... | 185 | | |

| | Page | | Page |
|--|--------------|--|---------------|
| NAME, not used by Negritos in ad- dressing elders or superiors.... | 56 | PARTICLES IN NABALOI, phonetic changes in..... | 128 |
| — of Ibaloi discussed..... | 97 | —, possessive | 114 |
| NAMES, how selected for children by Negritos | 55 | PASSIVE voice of <i>bunu</i> , to kill, in Nabaloi | 132 |
| — of places, how chosen by Ibaloi Igorot | Footnote 161 | PAYNAVEN fortress in Pangasinan Province | 27 |
| —, proper, of Negritos..... | 55 | PERMISSION, obligation, causation, desire, examples of Nabaloi manner of expressing..... | 139-141 |
| NASAL INDEX of Negritos..... | 34 | PERSONAL NAMES of Ibaloi Igorot.... | 170 |
| —, tabulated statement of, of Ne- gritos | 75 | —, Ibaloi custom of changing, after sickness | Footnote 170 |
| NATIONALITY, growing sense of, among Ibaloi Igorot..... | 100 | PERSONS, terms for, used in Nabaloi.. | 151 |
| NATURAL phenomena, effect on Ne- grito mind | 63 | PHYSICAL characteristics of Ne- gritos | 36 |
| NEGATIVE forms of Nabaloi verb <i>bunu</i> , to kill..... | 131 | — phenomena, Nabaloi words for.. | 161, 162 |
| — particle in Nabaloi | 112 | PIGAFETTA, referred to, on Negritos.. | 15 |
| — verb forms in Nabaloi..... | 139 | PILAUANG, Igorot village..... | 174 |
| NEIGHBORS of Ibalois, names for..... | 99 | PINATUBO, mountain of Zambales..... | 30 |
| NEGRITOS. (For references to Negri- tos, see under individual sub- jects.) | | PINGUE, Igorot guide..... | 173, 174, 177 |
| NEGROS, distribution of Negritos in.. | 21 | PIPIUAN, headman of Luceng..... | 174, 177 |
| New words in Nabaloi..... | 168-170 | PITFALLS used by Igorot to obstruct trails | 174 |
| NOSE OF NEGRITOS, breadth of..... | 34, 75 | PLANT, to, conjugation of, in Na- baloi | 130 |
| —, length of..... | 34, 75 | PLANTS, Nabaloi words connected with | 161 |
| NORTHWESTERN Luzon, number of Negritos in..... | 19, 20 | PLURAL idea, how expressed in Na- baloi | 109 |
| NOUN, the, in Nabaloi..... | 108-111 | — of nouns, how expressed in Na- baloi | 108 |
| NOUNS have character of verb..... | 107 | POLILLO ISLAND, presence of Negritos in | 18 |
| —, verbal forms having character of, in Nabaloi | 127 | POLYANDRY, permitted by Bataks.. | 184, 187 |
| NUEVA ÉCCLJA, distribution of Negri- tos in..... | 19 | POLYGAMY among Negritos..... | 60 |
| NUMBER of Ibaloi Igorot..... | 99 | POLYGyny permitted by Bataks..... | 184 |
| — of Negritos, estimated..... | 23 | POPULATION of valley of Benguet reduced by disease..... | 178 |
| —, plural, of nouns, how expressed in Nabaloi | 108 | POSSESSIVE pronouns and particles.. | 114-116 |
| OBJECT, how emphasized in con- jugating in Nabaloi..... | 129 | PREFIX and suffix <i>pang-an</i> used in Nabaloi | 127 |
| OLD age, early advent of, among Negritos | 34 | PREFIX <i>i</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 106 |
| OMENS, bad, among Negritos..... | 67 | — <i>in</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 106, 127 |
| ORIGIN and migrations of the Negrito race | Footnote 14 | — <i>maka</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 106 |
| ORNAMENTS, Nabaloi terms for..... | 152 | — <i>ka</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 106 |
| — worn by Negritos..... | 37 | — <i>mang</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 127 |
| OWNERSHIP, how expressed in Na- baloi | 121 | — <i>nang</i> , use of, in Nabaloi..... | 127 |
| PALAWAN, paper on Bataks of..... | 183-189 | PREPOSITIONS in Nabaloi | 122-125 |
| —, a tribe of the Island of Palawan.. | 184 | PROGNATHISM, absence of, in Negri- tos | 36 |
| PANAY ISLAND, distribution of Ne- gritos in..... | 20 | PRONOUN, demonstrative, used ad- jectively in Nabaloi..... | 117 |
| —, life and belief of Negritos in..... | 21 | —, personal, in Nabaloi, dual form of | 117 |
| PANGASINAN element in Nabaloi..... | 100 | —, inclusive and exclusive forms of.. | 113 |
| PAPUANS, relation to Negritos dis- cussed | Footnote 14 | —, independent forms of..... | 113 |
| PARADIGMS of Nabaloi verbs..... | 129 | —, interrogative forms of..... | 120 |
| PARAEN, god of Bataks..... | 188 | —, possessive | 114-116 |
| PARTICLES IN NABALOI..... | 128 | —, relative | 119 |
| —, examples of combination of, with roots | 141-143 | PRONOUNS, as used with verbal forms | 114-116 |
| —, number of, a stem may take..... | 106 | —, demonstrative, comparative list of | 117 |
| | | —, forms used only in composition.. | 114 |
| | | —, genders not distinguished in | 113 |

| | Page | | Page |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| PRONOUNS, place of..... | 116, 117 | STATURE of Malays..... | 181 |
| PRONUNCIATION OF NABALOI, system- atic statement of..... | 101-106 | — of Negritos..... | 33 |
| —, instability of..... | 101 | SUBIG, vocabulary from..... | 81-83 |
| PUERTO PRINCESA, municipality of Palawan | 183, 185 | SUMATRA, MARSDEN'S HISTORY OF, quoted | 181 |
| R in the Bolinao dialect..... | 79 | SUPERSTITIONS of Negritos..... | 65 |
| RAIDS by Negritos..... | 70 | SURIGAO, Mamanuas of..... | 22, 187 |
| REFLEXIVE forms of verbs in Nabaloi.. | 136 | SUFFIX <i>an</i> in Nabaloi..... | 106, 127 |
| RELATION OF NABALOI to other dialects | 110 | — <i>en</i> in Nabaloi..... | 127 |
| — to Malay..... | 111 | TABAO, name of a plain in Benguet.. | 174 |
| REMEDIES used by Negritos..... | 66, 67 | TABLAS, Negritos at Odiungan in.... | 20 |
| RESERVATION for Negritos, plan for.. | 32 | TAGALOG language, invasion of Zam- bal territory | 28 |
| RIGHT and left, use of terms for, in Nabaloi | 110 | TAGBANUAS, marriage of..... | 187 |
| RIZAL, views on Philippine orthog- raphy | Footnote 105 | —, stature of..... | 186 |
| RIZAL PROVINCE, distribution of Ne- gritos in..... | 19 | —, tribe of Palawan Island..... | 22, 184, 185 |
| RONGOS, village of Benguet..... | 178 | —, writing of..... | 187 |
| ROOTS, definition of Nabaloi..... | 106 | TAGDUNAN, bay on the shore of Pala- wan | 185 |
| —, examples of combinations of, with particles..... | 141, 142 | TALEX, village of Benguet..... | 178 |
| SAKAI, a tribe of the Malay Penin- sula | Footnote 183 | TANDOLANEN, tribe of Bataks..... | 185, 188 |
| SALCEDO, JUAN DE, discoverer of Zambales | 25 | TAMON, hill in Benguet..... | 175 |
| SAN MARCELINO, number of Negritos in | 31 | TARABANAN, Bataks of..... | 187 |
| SANTA FÉ, vocabulary from..... | 81, 83 | —, river of Palawan..... | 185 |
| SANTO TOMÁS, mountain of..... | 173 | TAYABAS, distribution of Negritos in.. | 18 |
| SARO, dice game played by Negritos.. | 49 | TEETH, filing the, among Negritos..... | 36 |
| SCARIFICATION among Negritos..... | 36 | TEMPERATURE in Benguet..... | 176 |
| SEMANGS, a tribe of the Malay Penin- sula | Footnote 183 | TENSE, the continuative, in Nabaloi.. | 129 |
| SEWING, Nabaloi terms for articles used in | 154 | —, formation of past and future..... | 125 |
| SI, abbreviation of, in Nabaloi..... | 107 | —, future, how expressed..... | 119 |
| —, article used with proper names in Nabaloi | 107 | —, past, how formed..... | 129 |
| SIAGANAN, Batak chief..... | 185 | —, past, how expressed..... | 119 |
| SIGNS employed in writing Nabaloi.... | 105 | — of verbal forms..... | 129 |
| SINGING, Ibaloi manner of..... | 148-150 | TERRITORY of Ibaloi Igorot, extent of.. | 99 |
| —, Negrito manner of..... | 51 | THEFT, punishment for, among Ne- gritos | 62 |
| SKIN disease, Negrito indifference to.. | 67 | TIBBON, bay on the shore of Palawan.. | 185 |
| SLAVERY, existence of, among Ne- gritos | 63 | TINITIAN, village of Palawan..... | 183, 185 |
| SMALLPOX patients, treatment of, among Negritos..... | 67 | TOBACCO, cultivated by the Igorot of Benguet | Footnote 173 |
| SNAKES eaten by Bataks..... | 183 | — sold by Negritos..... | 44 |
| SMOKING, prevalence and manner of, among Negritos..... | 62 | — used by Negritos | 62 |
| SOCIAL terms in Nabaloi..... | 165, 166 | TOE, reason for turning inward among Negritos | 63 |
| SOCIETY, state of Negrito..... | 23 | TONGLO, mountain of Luzon..... | 173, 175 |
| SONGS, Ibaloi | 148-150 | TOOLS, iron, Nabaloi terms for..... | 154 |
| — of the Negritos..... | 50 | TORTURE, use of the <i>con-de-mán</i> by Negritos | 63 |
| SORSOGON, Negritos in..... | 17 | TRANSITIVE VERBS, examples of, in Nabaloi | 134 |
| SOUTHERN islands, distribution of Negritos in..... | 20 | —, conjugation of, in Nabaloi..... | 133, 134 |
| SPAN of arms of Negritos..... | 75 | TRANSPOSITION of vowels in Nabaloi.. | 105 |
| SPIRITS, Negritos' belief in..... | 65 | TRAPS USED BY NEGRITOS for catch- ing birds..... | 46 |
| STATURE of Bataks..... | 183 | — for catching deer..... | 45 |
| — of Battas of Sumatra..... | 181 | TUBAO, barrio of Agoó..... | 173 |
| | | UNITS of value, Negritos' acquaint- ance with | 64 |
| | | UTENSILS, terms for, in Nabaloi..... | 153 |
| | | VAIARA, a locality in Benguet..... | 177 |
| | | VENTURELLO, MANUEL HUGO, author of article on tribes of Pala- wan | 181, 185 |

| | Page | | Page |
|---|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| VENTURELLO, MANUEL HUGO, quoted | | WOODEN ware, Nabaloi terms for | |
| on religious myths of Bataks.. | 188 | articles of | 153 |
| —, quoted on Bataks..... | Footnotes 184 | WRITING Nabaloi, difficulty of..... | 101 |
| VERB, formation and general charac- | | —, question of former knowledge of, | |
| ter of, in Nabaloi..... | 126 | among Ibaloi | 147 |
| —, similarity of, in Nabaloi to verb of | | | |
| other Philippine dialects..... | 126 | ZAMBALS, ancient customs of..... | 25 |
| VERBAL forms of varying degrees of | | —, backwardness of..... | 27 |
| intensity | 139 | —, former close contact of, with | |
| VERBS, paradigms of..... | 128-136 | Negritos | 28 |
| VOCABULARY, Nabaloi | 151-171 | —, religion of | 26 |
| —, Negrito | 79-83 | —, vocabularies of..... | 80, 82 |
| | | ZÚÑIGA quoted on former dominion | |
| WEAPONS, terms for, in Nabaloi..... | 153 | of Negritos..... | 16 |
| — used by Negritos..... | 43, 44, 46, 47 | — mentions Negritos in Bulacan..... | 19 |



572.9914

PS-5

77ms DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS 1-17-06
VOLUME II, PARTS II AND III

THE NABALOI DIALECT

BY OTTO SCHEERER

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

BY EDWARD Y. MILLER

MANILA
BUREAU OF PUBLIC PRINTING
1905

25586

